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MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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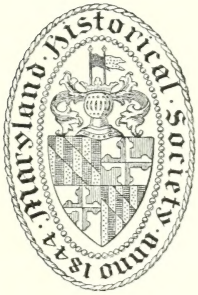
THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



VOLUME LIII

BALTIMORE

1958

University of Florida
1853

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Forges Bridge (c. 1900), Gunpowder River, ... Cover, March

The Forges Bridge over the Great Falls of the Gunpowder River on the Old Philadelphia Road. It was opened to traffic about 1800 and was torn down in the 1920's. This photograph was taken about 1900 by Anna Sellman Gittings (d. 1943). Seated on a rock is her sister, Mary Sterrett Gittings (1872-1957). Their sister, Miss Victoria Gittings, presented the photograph to the Maryland Historical Society, through Mr. William B. Marye.

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The cover picture of this issue is a lithograph of the British attack on Fort McHenry. (see p. 211) The artist is unknown except by the initials E. S. It is a striking picture but highly inaccurate judging from the recent research of National Park Service historians. For example, the Fort is pictured as almost rectangular when it was in 1814, as it is now, a pentagonal structure. The type of buildings shown within the Fort also was not present in 1814. The battery at Lazaretto Point, with the chain boom and sunken hulks blocking the mouth of the harbor, is not shown. But for all of its inaccuracies, the picture is important, as it represents one of many artists' conceptions of the Defense of Fort McHenry. Its valiant stand is a symbol of the courage of Marylanders and other Americans in the War of 1812.

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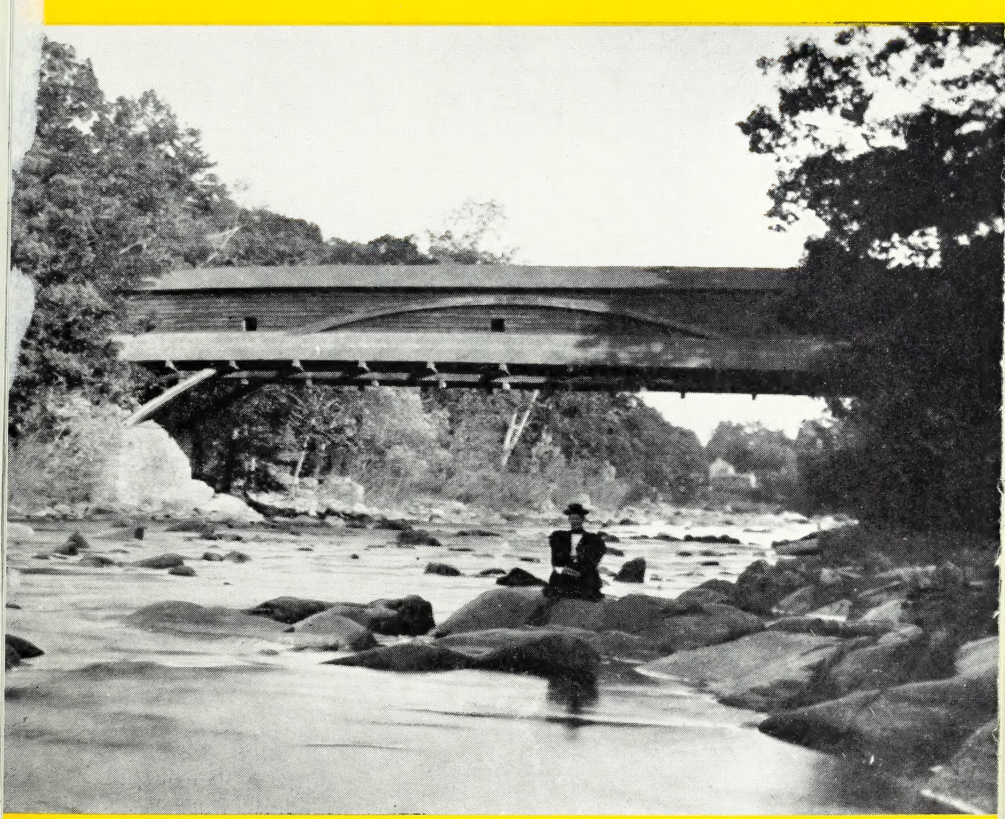

Forges Bridge (c. 1900), Gunpowder River

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

March · 1958

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Elizabeth S. M. Wild, Bequest, 1950,	63,906.55
A. Morris Tyson, Bequest, 1956, First Estate distribution	60,442.79
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Jane James Cook, Bequest, 1945, $1,000., and other gifts; and 3/40 of annual income of residuary estate.	
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George Peabody, 1866	20,000.00
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Susan Dobbin Leakin, Preparation of J. Wilson Leakin room and contribution to its contents, 1924.	
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Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., For Queen Anne's History, $5,000., and other gifts	6,500.00
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Anonymous	3,000.00
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Anonymous	2,427.97
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Moses S. and Blanch H. Hecht Foundation	712.00
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Buck Glass Company, For Amelung goblet	500.00
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Mrs. William Milnes Maloy, For purchase of Jefferson Papers	500.00
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For other contributions, including those donated in connection with payment of annual dues, the Society makes grateful acknowledgment.

Gifts of various funds, many of large amounts, have been received to advance the cause of historical preservation and increase appreciation of our Maryland heritage. These have been used for contemplated purposes for the benefit of the people of Maryland without direct advantage to the Society and have not been included in the general funds listed above.

Mrs. Edgar W. Garbisch, Old Trinity Restoration
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Anonymous contributions.

For the gift of objects, books and papers, far too numerous to list here, which have been received in the century and more since it was founded, the Society records this expression of its lasting gratitude. These contributions from countless members and friends have made the Society a major storehouse of state and national treasures.

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The Forges Bridge over the Great Falls of the Gunpowder River on the Old Philadelphia Road. It was opened to traffic about 1800 and was torn down in the 1920's. This photograph was taken about 1900 by Anna Sellman Gittings (d. 1943). Seated on a rock is her sister, Mary Sterett Gittings (1872-1957). Their sister, Miss Victoria Gittings, presented the photograph to the Maryland Historical Society, through Mr. William B. Marye.

Annual Subscription to the Magazine $4.00. Each issue $1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

FRANCIS C. HABER, *Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

H. Irvine Keyser Memorial Building

201 W. MONUMENT STREET, BALTIMORE 1

George L. Radcliffe, President; James W. Foster, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items; the *Archives of Maryland* and volumes of the series "Maryland in World War II" under the authority of the State; and the series of books entitled "Studies in Maryland History."

Annual dues of the Society are $8 and up, life membership $150. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes,* is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. *June 15 to Sept. 15*, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 1.

FORM OF BEQUEST

I give and bequeath to the Maryland Historical Society, incorporated under the laws of Maryland, the sum of ———— dollars.

(Specific purpose of bequest may be stated, if desired)

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 53 MARCH, 1958 Number 1

HISTORY AS A REFUGE FROM TODAY

By James Parton *

MY theme—"History as a Refuge from Today"—may strike you as somewhat enigmatic. If so, I am delighted, for that is just what I intended! I do not mean anything quite so simple as refuge in the sense of *escape*. Yet escapism is widely regarded as one of the main motivations for the craze for American history which is currently sweeping our land.

What I want to explore here tonight are the true reasons for this new enthusiasm and what it signifies—not just for you and me who are actively engaged in historical pursuits but for the great mass of the American public. And let there be no doubt in anyone's mind that the great mass of Americans are indeed involved!

Hardly a decade ago history was almost universally regarded

* Speech given before a joint meeting of The Maryland Historical Society and The Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities Baltimore, January 13, 1958. Mr. Parton is Publisher of *American Heritage* (see "Contributors.").

as " dry as dust," professional historians were men without much honor save in the Halls of Academe, Historical Societies were standard Hollywood symbols for any group of old fuddy-duds, and the flow of visitors through many of the nation's most beautifully preserved old houses would not have worn a hole in the entrance hall rug for another hundred years.

Now—Lord love it!—everything to do with history has suddenly become big business. All of you in this room are intimately aware of this phenomenon, for nowhere is it more evident than in the astounding statistics of attendance at historic sites. Your own Fort McHenry had no less than 653,682 visitors last year. Another famous Fort—Ticonderoga—last summer had 280,000 visitors, an increase of 53% over five years ago, and *236%* more than in 1947. Your neighbor, Virginia, the State with the biggest array of historic sites, logged 30,000,000 visitors to them during 1957. Mount Vernon alone now has over 1,000,000 visitors each year. The National Park Service figures that over 20,000,000 per year visit the 110 historic areas it administers throughout the nation. Exact figures for the nation as a whole are almost impossible to come by, but informed guesses indicate that the number of people traveling to America's historic sites in 1958 will exceed one-half the total population.

There is similar evidence in the statistics of historical writings. In 1956 Americans spent $15 million to buy copies of approximately 550 books on our history. Hastings House, the fine New York firm which published your own recent *Picture History* of Baltimore, finds it lucrative to concentrate almost entirely on books of American history. I venture to guess, your book will enjoy a sale which only a few years ago would have been deemed impossible. *American Heritage* of course demonstrates the same point—if you will forgive a brief " commercial." Our subscription list has grown from 10,000 in 1954 to 300,000 today, and the end is by no means in sight. We printed 200,000 copies of our recent book on *Great Historic Places* and have sold all but 7,000 in the three months since the book appeared. We anticipate an equally large sale on the big book on *The Revolution* we are now readying for publication next September.

What is the meaning of this phenomenon? Why in tumultuous, stimulating 1958 are Americans so fascinated by yesteryear? Is

this just a momentary fad, like Tom Thumb golf or Mah Jongg? Could that mid-Western editorial writer have been right when he threw up his hands in print the other day and dismissed the whole thing as " mass historia? " Could it be that we are all reacting to what the new cult of Motivational Research specialists call " ego-gratification " or " sub-conscious pre-conditioning " or " womb-seeking? " Or could it be simply that unattractive and unflattering word " escapism? "

Certainly there is obvious justification for all of us to brood about escaping from some of today's ugly realities. Only last week, in his State of the Union speech, President Eisenhower spelled out why these are times of world-wide terror. And if all the rumor-factories are right about the so-called Gaither Report we may soon be spending more in one year on bomb shelters than the entire 300-years' accumulated value of our historic sites. Perhaps, in that event, your Society for the Preservation of Antiquities will change its name to the Society for the Construction of Hydrogen Hide-aways!

Small wonder that the calamity-howlers are abroad in our land! Our future may be simply one blinding flash. The food we eat may be—dread word—radioactive. If there never is an atomic holocaust, world-population will soon outstrip world food supplies and we shall all starve. Inflation will never stop its upward spiral. Our schools and colleges will soon have no teachers because they can earn more money in factories. Even in the South Seas, the traditional hideaway of the lotus-eater, there is no longer even a Dutchman's chance for peace.

There's just *no* place to hide.

Fight your way to the South Pole, and what do you find?—A hot meal, hot bath, warm bed *and* the latest news of world-wide woe.

There's *no* place to hide—and this is especially so in Baltimore. Here is traditional battle ground. You've been directly involved in all America's past wars and there's every reason to think you'll be in the next one. In fact, you already are. I remind you that Baltimore is the locus not only of a remarkable list of historic shrines and monuments but also of the Martin Aircraft Company, maker of major missiles of destruction and therefore a primary target for them too. One could even be on the way across the

polar wastes or from a submerged submarine right this very minute!

I don't see any of you ducking. So I take it we agree that the only possible attitude which can make life faceable if all the calamity-howling is to be taken literally is the one you and I wear tonight—one of arrant bravado in the face of disaster.

I, for one, do not take the calamity-howlers that literally, and my guess is that a very small percentage of intelligent Americans do. Not that I mean to suggest that we should all have complacent confidence in America's lucky star. We cannot rely forever on Lord Bryce's derisive description: "Providence has under its special care children, idiots, and the United States of America." We cannot just snap our fingers at potential calamity.

You may have heard about the middle-aged executive under considerable strain who developed an incessant habit of snapping his fingers. At last his family prevailed on him to see a psychiatrist. After the preliminary formalities of getting the new patient comfortably ensconced on the couch, the doctor asked:

"Now, my friend, can you remember what it was that started you snapping your fingers?"

"Oh certainly! It was to keep the lions away."

"But there aren't any lions within 10,000 miles of here!"

"Yes, I know," the patient replied. "Effective, isn't it?"

In short, I do not believe that America's new hunger for rediscovering the past can simply be attributed to wanting to forget the present. We are a realistic race, accustomed to hazard, ready for rough and tumble, selfish at some times, bumptious at others but, generally speaking, dedicated to the noble causes of human dignity and freedom and quick to rally to their defense. We are not escapists in the sense of shirking our duty.

Yet, now and again, every man needs to get away, needs to forget his duties, needs to clear his mind, and, so doing, to refresh his imagination, recharge his determination, and refurbish his capacity to handle his job when he returns to it. What more natural way to do this than through nostalgia—to think back to easier, happier times in your own life or to ruffle through the pages of our nation's extraordinary history. This is not escapism. It *is* escape.

Let's try using the escape-hatch of history right now and see what we find. Let's pretend for a few minutes that we have gone back a century. From this moment, the date is *1858*.

Suddenly the broad highways grow empty, crack apart and return to winding trails and woodlands. The cities shrink, the pace grows slower and, before our eyes, the spinning world, with its galaxies of nations and peoples and its infinity of events, swells large again. Pressing our journey backward through the long corridors of the decades, leaving behind us the crash of war and upheaval of social change, we arrive, a century ago, in a strange, far country; but not as explorers. For if the scene is sometimes baffling, sometimes outrageous, it also tugs at our hearts and mists our eyes. We have been here before.

The first thing we notice, waking suddenly in 1858, is the tremendous quiet, a forgotten silence that stuns the ear. All the electric power of the earth has ceased to throb; the horns, the blaring radios, the power mower next door and the vacuum cleaner downstairs, the airplane overhead, the roar of traffic, all that background hum which we of 1958 accept unconsciously as part of the cosmos, all is still. Then, after a moment's readjustment, the sounds of the past assert themselves, the buzzing of bees in the honeysuckle, the rooster proclaiming his strength, the distant clip-clop of a horse, a boy whistling, the scream of the morning train rolling out of the depot for its run to the junction.

Looking out at the Maryland scene, we find a kind of stage set erected, and in a minute we recollect its authors. They are Currier and Ives. It is their artless lithographs, a little neater, a little more idyllic than life, which paint the self-portrait of 1858 America. Here are the tidy little towns, the prosperous farms and castellated suburban villas, the shady streets swarming with gentlemen in long jackets and stovepipe hats and ladies in great belled-out skirts. Everybody in 1858 is wearing the hoop, be it reinforced with wire or whalebone, steel or simply wood, and it is a matter of remark already, especially to visitors from class-conscious Europe, that many a serving maid wears them too. When the breeze springs up, as it never does in Currier and Ives, the hoops are a little frisky. The breeze, too, carries with it strong, faintly familiar odors, for this is an age innocent of sanitation, of plumbing and street-cleaning, an age, to be candid, which has not yet been

entirely sold on the merits or even the morality of too frequent bathing.

The lithographers of the day give us a bird's eye view of the whole of Baltimore, in a quaint perspective that shows the gingerbread "palace" steamers loading at the wharves; the high-stepping eight-wheelers just behind; the boys sledding on East Lexington Street; the tall monuments; the offices of the thriving merchants; the imposing residences in wood, granite and brownstone, of the nabobs, with towers, columns and an occasional porte-cochere. Off on one side, not clearly developed by the artist, is a more crowded district, inhabited by the mill workers. Just beyond this is "Darktown" whose residents—if we are to believe Mr. Currier and Mr. Ives—are happy-go-lucky comics forever adventuring in chicken houses, dancing with athletic gusto to a whacking mandolin, strutting behind the local militia as it drills on the town green, and aping the white folks in one hilarious episode after another.

Is this really a world full of prosperity, of happy children and married domesticity? Are the less fortunate really so carefree? Is America this pious and patriotic and virtuous, a land where every statesman is a village Pericles and every soldier an Horatius in his youth and a Cincinnatus when age has snowed his hair? Can we accept as pure reportage the millenial joy and dignity pictured in the lithographer's *Four Seasons of Life*, the children playing at the stile by the sun-dappled brook, the young man in his strength plowing the rich soil, the happy young-marrieds, the benign elders philosophizing—doubtless over Beecher's sermons —on the piazza?

Later generations would know better. But to the Yankee merchants, Northern farmers, Western plainsmen or Southern planters of 1858, all this is not a dream but a prophecy, a vision vouchsafed and often nearly achieved beyond the river or just past the next range of hills. In their hearts, the perfection of the social order is, if not at hand, just around the corner. Never, they believe, has there been such progress, in government, in science, in invention, in the moral order of life. As all peoples do, they see what they want to; they have distilled the useful but faintly impious age of reason into an age of improvement and propriety. Beyond the seas they have plowed a new promised land; symbolically their powerful

divines call it a new Israel, a new Jerusalem, and the words of the gospel fall easily from their lips, as they name their children, the Ezekiels, the Jeremiahs, the Isaiahs, for the prophets of Jehovah. Scratch an American and there is a being wrapped in a sense of his mission. The same hand that guided Moses, and brought the Barons to Runnymede, and preserved William Bradford in the wilderness, lies on them still. They believe in good and evil, not behaviorism, or complexes, *id* and *ego* to them are merely Latin pronouns. And if often they seem self-seeking, if they depart from the Path, yet the image floats before them. They hold the future in trust, which shall be true and righteous altogether.

It is a belief they do not hesitate to express, these Americans, in words like destiny and empire, and the seeming presumption either angers or amuses visitors from other lands. One such, an Englishman, comes to supper in an American inn. The innkeeper, who is, to the visitor's intense amusement, also the local general of militia, appears and, in strident tones, calls the diners to order.

" Gentlemen! " he cries, " We are a great people! " Then he reads the menu.

Another Englishmen, stopping at an American hotel, seeks diplomatically to find a conversational topic pleasing to the natives who surround him. Providence, he ventures, seemed to have called on the two Anglo-Saxon nations to civilize the globe. Quickly an American brushes him and his Pax Britannica aside:

" Two nations! Guess there's only one, stranger; going to annex that little island of yourn one of them fine days; don't know how little Vic will like that, but got to do it, and no mistake about that! "

It is in America, as the stream of foreign visitors and commentators all notice in different ways, that a new society is being created. Everything is building and speculation, clatter and " go-ahead " and a new language to express these things is springing to life. One genial financier tells Captain Marryat, the English traveller, that, if he had taken up a certain speculation, he would not only have doubled and trebled his money, he would also have " fourbled and fivebled " it. The American outlook seems to alternate between scorn for European ways and a feeling of having surpassed them. Are European marriages " arranged? " Well

none of that nonsense over here. Boys and girls, often quite unchaperoned, go about together in ways so free as to shock Europeans. The servant problem for the diplomatic set in Washington is impossible, quite impossible. No American, reports Harriet Martineau, will wear livery.

Yet if the Americans disdain aristocracy, they use its language constantly. The words " fashionable " and " aristocratic," noted Dickens with malicious glee, are always on the tongues of this upstart nation, describing the meanest village yeomanry or the least prepossessing boarding house. A surprising number of Americans, too busy to settle down, live in these remarkable establishments, on a greasy, vitamin-free diet to which only distance lends enchantment.

The contrasts, indeed, flabbergast many commentators—the boast and the fact, the prim and the uncouth, the slave and the free, side by side. The handful of stately buildings set down in Washington amid empty lots and frame shanties, the whole lining muddy " avenues " and " circles " that seem to mock the grandiose plan of the city-planner. The glorious words of the great Declaration—the South's " peculiar institution! " The railroad with the resounding name, ending with " and Pacific," which so far goes ten miles! Can either dream be fulfilled?

Dickens could hardly stand us, though he did describe Barnum's Hotel in Baltimore as the " most comfortable in the U. S." Visiting in the previous decade, he spared neither our feelings nor our pretensions. Passing through Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, he reports receiving, with what must have been thinly veiled disgust, some members of the state senate. One smothered the carpet with tobacco juice, another blew his nose with his fingers and a third carefully explained to the novelist that this assembly of lawgivers in which they sat " corresponds to your House of Lords."

America swarms with strange cults and movements which express the ferment of ideas. There are spiritualists, phrenologists, mesmerists, Fundamentalists, and Mormons digging tablets from the soil. Feminists like Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony and pantalooned Amelia Bloomer declaim against the rule of Man, who either forces woman onto her ridiculous pedestal or works her to death at a third of a man's wages.

But there is no questioning the future. Some five million immi-

grants have come to America—Irishmen, Germans, Britons, Scandinavians, a sprinkling of others, since 1815—and our population has quadrupled. (England's, for the same period, is up less than 50%.) When a commercial and financial panic swept the country late in 1857 Fanny Kemble, the English actress who had married and divorced the owner of a Southern plantation, writes home to England from New York an interesting comment: " It is impossible," she says, " to conceive anything so curious to one on the spot, to whom the real positive wealth and prosperity of the country is . . . obvious." And in the same year, James Mursell Phillippo makes a thoughtful prophecy: By the end of the century, the United States will contain 100,000,000 people. In another half century, he decides, " she will almost indubitably be the most powerful government on earth."

Here in Baltimore in 1858 life is not only prosperous but gracious and genteel, as befits a city whose population has grown to 212,418 and ranks as the third biggest in the land. Look at us, for example, assembled for an after-dinner lecture. I regret that the ladies would not be here—Susan Anthony had not yet made much of a dent on Maryland. But the men—ah, the men! We would have checked our stovepipe hats, but we would still wear our gloves as we sat down to a vast dinner, much of which we would have eaten, quite properly, with our knives. The menu would have read something like this one from the 1850's recently recorded in *American Heritage* by Gerald Carson: " cold oysters, Oyster *Pâtés*, Hock wine offered; boiled and baked Fish, Pass the wine; next, boiled Turkey, roast Mutton, Veal with Peas and Ham; Sweet Bread and Croquettes; then Wine and Roman Punch. After Course, two pair Canvas-Back Ducks, two pair Grouse, Wood Cocks and Quails, with Salad. Blanc Mange, Jelly, Baked and Frozen Pudding, etc. etc., with Ice Cream, Grapes, Pears, Apples, Oranges, and Ornamental Sweets from the Confectioner."

As Mr. Carson commented: " If any good thing was said later in the evening, it is doubtful if it was heard by the liverish company, who had far more need of Huxham's tincture of quassia or a mechanical manipulation of the epigastrium, than of an epigram."

Now, we are sitting back with cigars thrust through the beards at least half of us sport, mindful of the dictum in the *Illustrated*

Manners Book of 1855: "Nature gave man a beard for use and beauty, and marked the softer graces and more exquisite delicacy of women by want of it. Shaving the face renders it effeminate." While waiting for the lecture to begin, your conversation would not have touched on anything that mattered—purposely not, for gentlemen in society "avoided controversial questions such as religion, politics or morals because they can give rise to angry and endless and useless contests." Presently some of you will ride home in the Cadillac of 1858—a phaeton drawn by a pair of spanking bays with a coachman and groom in the livery box. Others will use the 1858 version of a Thunderbird—a light carriage, or trap, with silver moldings and yellow wheels, drawn by a fast and frisky horse.

Now, how do you feel? Replete, quiet, tranquillized, a little smug, almost ready to face another day of 1858? Has this brief escape through nostalgia really made you yearn for "the good old days?" Do you wish you could *stay on* in the serene and secure Baltimore of 1858?

Well, just in case any of you really do feel that way, let me now give you a glimpse of the other side of the coin—some of the realities of life in 1858 that Currier and Ives either did not see or else chose not to record.

For example, you can't talk basic issues with many of your neighbors without coming to blows. Baltimore is a city divided. It has strong ties with both North and South. Most people here deplore the increasing talk of secession. But we are also equally determined in our opposition to the Abolitionist talk of using force against the Southern states with which we are traditionally aligned.

Stick to local politics and you're still in trouble. Fresh in our minds are the elections two years ago, when several Baltimore political clubs—appropriately tagged with such names as "The Plug Uglies," "The Rip-Raps," or "The Tigers"—were so persuasive with the voters that eight people were killed and 250 injured. It was a brutal, disgraceful incident. We are still ashamed of it here tonight in 1858.

And, despite our chesty certainty about America's manifest destiny, we are also, all of us, genuinely scared of the immediate future. President Buchanan is weak, and the United States are

drifting—nay, rushing—towards ugly chaos. Buchanan has failed to deal wisely or effectively either with such general problems as States Rights or such particular crises as civil strife in Kansas. Even as we sit here in gentlemanly discourse tonight the bearded fanatic who led Kansas lynching parties is planning to capture Harpers Ferry next October. No honest man can see a safe path out of the present mess of misunderstanding and malice.

What's more, you and I are in immediate physical danger right here in this lecture hall! The water or milk we sipped at the feast an hour ago were worse than radio-active, for the fine, cut-glass goblets we used may well have been crawling with typhoid germs, and there is no known cure. If we get out of this wooden fire-trap, the tree-lined streets we'll canter through on the way home will reek with filth, abound in rats and ownerless dogs. The chap sitting next to you does not have Asiatic Flu, but could likely have tuberculosis. TB is currently killing one-sixth of the U. S. population. Few of us have very long to live, in any case. Our average life expectancy here in Baltimore in January 1858 is only 40. No wonder we tend to be tolerant of our many noisome saloons, our thriving red-light districts. No wonder we exhibit a certain devil-may-care, gather-ye-rose-buds demeanor!

Now are you so content with " the good old days? " Is nostaglia so real an escape? Before you decide, let me be sure you realize, O gentlefolk of 1858, that things are about to get much, much worse! Business will be bad. Government will not improve. Hate will burgeon. Right here in Baltimore three years and two months from today will come the first bloodshed of the Civil War.

It happens that a great-uncle of mine was here in Baltimore on that fateful day. His name was Mortimer Thomson and he was a correspondent for Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune.* He had made a bit of a name for himself back in 1859 by covering in disguise and at considerable personal risk the great slave auction at the Carolina plantation of Pierce Butler, who had recently been divorced by Fanny Kemble. Thomson's story of that auction did a lot to whip up Abolitionist feeling in New York and New England.

Thomson had a real nose for news. It led him, on April 18, 1861, to the curb near the corner of Gay and Pratt Streets. You have all heard the story of what he saw that day. But, if we

are to live up to the rules of the game of escape we are playing, it is proper for me to tell it briefly again.

Imagine the local scene and the national situation. In Washington a new president widely regarded as a backwoods buffoon has been in office only six weeks. On his way from Ohio to take the oath of office the President-elect has cancelled a speaking engagement in Baltimore and slips through the city in secrecy at dawn because his bodyguard, a detective named Pinkerton, has well-founded reasons for suspecting some of us will try to assassinate him. Now, barely a month later, secession, long threatened, has actually begun. Federal troops have just been flung out of Fort Sumter, and Mr. Lincoln has issued an emergency call for volunteers to protect him and the Federal Government in Washington. There is only one fully-equipped regiment in the entire North—the Sixth Massachusetts Infantry, 4,000 strong. Massachusetts is the fountainhead of Abolitionist ardor. Within six days after the President's alarm, the Sixth Massachusetts has been mustered and is on its way.

On the morning of April 19, 1861, about a thousand of these Massachusetts men, plus some volunteers who joined them in Philadelphia, arrive at the President Street Depot and begin to transfer to the Camden Station of the B & O in horse-drawn cars along the track through Pratt Street. Sullen crowds line the way. For weeks the cauldron of public sentiment has been boiling. We have a special grudge against Massachusetts. And we don't like the idea of letting Yankee boys through to fight our "Southern brothers." At Gay Street there is a pile of paving blocks. Someone throws one, and the lid blows off the cauldron.

Of Baltimore's 212,000 people, probably no more than 3,000 are in the attacking mob. Our Mayor bravely tried to quell the disorder, and most responsible citizens are horrified by it. But the forces revealed in that nasty little fight are too big for anyone to suppress. They can only be quelled by four years of the bloodiest war in history. Before the day is done in Baltimore, 13 men of the town and four from the Sixth Massachusetts are dead.

Heavy anchors dragged from the wharves are laid across Pratt Street to block the cars. Nonetheless, all but two of the cars eventually get through to the Camden Station. The faces of the soldiers can be seen through the windows, streaming with blood

from cuts from the shattered glass. The troops in the last two cars have to get out and march. For a while Mayor Brown, only an umbrella in his hand, is able to lead them through the crowd. But the bridge across Jones Falls has been barricaded, someone fires, the troops present arms and fire a volley in reply—and the riot is on in earnest. The crowd scatters looking for arms, but the armories are all shut tight. One gang enters the gun store of Mr. J. C. J. Meyer, who, with tears in his eyes, protests that he is a Southerner and lets them load up.

At the corner of Fawn Street two soldiers are felled by stones. At Light Street there is another volley and a boy named William Reed, a hand on the oyster sloop *Wild Pigeon* of York County, Virginia, gets a minnie ball through his belly from which he shortly dies in the schooner's hold.

Other citizens killed include James Clark of the No. 1 Hook and Ladder Company, who is shot through the head; James Myers; John McCann, a Mr. Flannery, a Mr. Maloney. One of the dead soldiers has the appropriate Boston name of Francis X. Ward. The Baltimore *Sun* reports that another soldier, dying, mutters: " I have got what I deserve. I left a peaceful and happy home to come here and invade the land of my brother." Still another soldier, wounded in the leg, is asked why he had come and replies: " Oh, the Flag—the Stars and Stripes."

After it was all over and the battered Sixth Massachusetts had moved on to Washington and to History, Mortimer Thomson, my ancestor, picked up a sad little souvenir which my family has cherished ever since and which I have brought with me tonight. Here it is—a frail silk ribbon reading " 1775 " at the top and " 1861 " at the bottom, with " Massachusetts " up the middle. The boy who wore it bravely on his chest as he set off across Baltimore that day was one of those either killed or wounded in the riot, for here, just by the " s " in " Massachusetts," is the faint, brown stain of his blood.

Ever since I was a kid I have had a sense of hushed excitement and reverence that my family was privileged to own a veritable sample of the first blood shed in The War Between the States. So you see, I value this little piece of blood-stained silk very much. It is a symbol of something of transcendent importance in the development of our land.

April 19, 1861, lived in Great Uncle Thompson's memory as one of the darkest days of his crowded, tumultuous life. For his war—and our war, had we really lived then—was worse in many ways than any you and I have seen. Perhaps one in every four or five men at our pretended banquet of 1858 are to be killed or maimed by it, and just about every woman in the best Baltimore families is doomed to live out her life with a tragedy held close to her heart. The survivors among us—and our sons, and theirs—will not outlive the impact of the impending fratricide. Think of it—a nation of but 31,000,000 souls lost more than 500,000 of its best. Three times that number were wounded.

Suppose the United States had sustained 10 *million* casualties in World War II? It amounts to the same thing.

* * * *

So we have run backwards to escape today and have found ourselves worse off. Happily, let us now come back again to our own age—to *1958*. Not too bad now, is it? Everybody eats, everybody goes to school. Maybe the Organization Man is no more frustrated than was The Man with a Hoe. We *do* live longer. We *do* know more. We *are* better off, physically at least.

More important, do we not come back from yesteryear to today with a fresh sense of the wondrous tenacity of the American idea? After all, dark as things looked in 1858, we know there *was* a great future ahead; we know the great American dream grew and prospered and reached around the world. A century ago we saw our Great Experiment tested to the brink of destruction—yet it survived. Need we call it an experiment any longer? Need we doubt its strength today?

There, I suggest, is our excuse for escaping from today by taking refuge in our heritage. It *is* a refuge. It is *not* escapism, in any cowardly sense.

Bruce Catton put the thought in homely words when he wrote: " Everything that we do in America is built on the lives of people we ourselves never saw. Our homes, food, clothing, schools, jobs —the games we play and the songs we sing, the very ideas we have about ourselves and the world we live in—all these have grown out of the things millions of Americans did in a time before our own. When we try to find out how these people lived, we are really trying to find out what we ourselves are all about."

And a couple of thousand years ago Dionysius of Halicarnassus said the same thing in sterner style: "History is philosophy learned from examples."

Surely, if we Americans are to acquire perspective and a sense of balance in these days of unfriendly moons and Martin rockets, we need look no farther than our own past. In Baltimore we need look no farther than Gay and Pratt Streets, or Fort McHenry —a place where we have already withstood the rocket's red glare.

So, really, in taking refuge in history or in escaping to the past, we are trying to peer into the future. We assure ourselves that our past was built on faith and courage and endurance and that by and large it was good. We return to today refreshed in spirit and renewed in confidence that our future, if it is built the same way, will be good also.

How the Baltimorean of 1858 would be astounded if he were here today! He might not be surprised by such things as the automobile, the airplane, the telephone, the cinema, even television; for many of them had been envisioned by the prophets of his time, much as we today speculate about space travel, and all of them were at least consistent with the laws of Isaac Newton. But the world beneath the microscope—the world of bacteria and viruses and the chemical war mankind has learned to wage against them—all this would have been a true revelation. As for the sub-microscopic world of the atom, the hatching ground of the bomb and of limitless energy, the man of 1858 would have stood bewildered by forces which not only tax the belief but defy the laws of the cosmos he took for solid fact.

Mankind, says Toynbee, is like a climber scaling a steep cliff through clouds. Looking down, he can see the slope behind him vanishing into the fog of pre-history. Above he sees only the swirling clouds, with a glimpse of sunnier skies beyond. It is no easier today than it was a hundred years ago to discern the shape of things to come. In the realm of art and thought the future is pure speculation. Just as no man of 1858 could possibly have predicted Picasso or jazz or Freudian psychology, so no one today can foresee the fruits of man's creative imagination in 2058. In worldly affairs prediction is more possible, or at least more tempting. Political thinkers may predict, as Toynbee does, the emergence of a world state, and economists may forecast, as the

Twentieth Century Fund does, an American standard of living seven times the present level. But the ghosts of Woodrow Wilson and Thomas Robert Malthus rise to warn us of the dark and complex forces that can make rubbish of all such visions. Only perhaps in the field of science and technology, where future realities flow in some predictable course from present possibilities, can the prophet feel some measure of assurance in his vision.

Perhaps the greatest surprise for a prophet of 1858 would be to compare his general state of mind with that of a prophet like himself in 1958. For despite all the perils and hardships and miseries of his life, the man of 1858, in America at least, viewed the future with boundless optimism. He believed that the future would be better than the past and he saw human history as a steady climb, by the light of reason, to ever higher levels of well-being and happiness. The man of 1958, despite all the vast material progress, the wonders of science, the conquest of disease and the lengthening of life, has seen too many disappointments and horrors, and lives too close to the threat of nuclear doom, to retain the belief that progress is automatic. He is not so sure of reason as a faithful guide for man's journey, and he fears that the future will be worse than the past.

Perhaps the most cheering lesson we can all learn from taking refuge in history is that the man of 1958 is just as likely to be wrong as the man of 1858.

Let us therefore live up to our history. Let's look back for reassurance, then ahead with pride and resolution. That's what our heritage is *for.*

THE DRAWINGS AND ALLEGORIES OF MAXIMILIAN GODEFROY

By Robert L. Alexander

ALTHOUGH he was already forty when he turned to the practice of architecture for a livelihood, Maximilian Godefroy left a small group of creditable works which have established his reputation in this field.[1] The best known of these are the First Unitarian Church, St. Mary's Seminary and the Battle Monument, all in Baltimore. Godefroy also taught drawing and sold some of his own executions. His total production of drawings must have been rather small, and he is deservedly less well known for them, judging from those which have survived. They are not great examples of art, but they do merit careful study because from them it is possible to measure better Godefroy's artistic range and also catch glimpses of his personality, left in shadows by the written records. In addition, his drawings and allegories reflect artistic standards and taste during those early culture-conscious years of nineteenth-century America.

This study is primarily based on Godefroy's existing drawings, some engravings, and a few written descriptions of pieces now lost. In using this material it is sometimes necessary to cross from one group to the other, a reliable procedure since it is but one creative mind which is revealed in all the work. Given the limitations on an individual's imagination (and Godefroy's was quite limited), it is reasonable to expect the same ideas and motives to crop up in successive works, especially if the creator thought them successful and effective.

We shall begin with the lengthy description Godefroy wrote of one of his drawings exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy in 1811:

[1] Dorothy Mackay Quynn presents much new biographical information on Godefroy and cites previous studies in "Maximilian and Eliza Godefroy," *MdHM*, LII (1957), 1-34.

This drawing is intended to be engraved as a vignette for the Diplomas of St. Mary's University, Baltimore. The subject represents *Minerva* crowning with one hand the *Genius of Belles Lettres*, and with the other extending her shield over a Bee hive, whence issues a swarm of bees. It bears a legend with these words of Virgil, " Gentis adultos educunt fetus " En. lib. 1. On the right of the Goddess is the *Genius of the Sciences*, who contemplates her whilst in the attitude of measuring the sphere, and the *Genius of the Fine Arts* is employed in painting the scene. Meanwhile the *American Eagle* soars upward from an olive tree, the symbol of peace, and puts to flight the harpies of prejudice and ignorance, dissipating the darkness they had shed. Also a vessel *agitated* by the waves of a tempestuous sea, to show the application of the Arts and Sciences to *commerce* and *navigation*. On the left of Minerva are seen the *Attributes* and *Instruments* of the *Mathematics*, of *Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Navigation, Music*, ancient and modern, of *Chemistry* and *Botany*. In the background is a correct view of the *Temple of Apollo* at *Delphos*, and the *Parnassian Mount*, surrounded by *Pegasus* and the *Temple of Mercury*; whence proceeds the light which reflects upon the piece.[2]

It is hardly necessary to comment on the complex, almost tortured nature of a symbolism that requires such a detailed explanation.

Among his works in the 1813 exhibition Godefroy entitled one " An allegorical drawing." Done for Edward Coale of Baltimore, it was to be a frontispiece for his intended publication *Mnemonika*. The brief description reads: " It represents the *genius of study* descending into the caverns of *Time*, and rending the veil which conceals the ruins of antiquity; . . ." [3] It shares with the diploma vignette a general respect for the power of antiquity, an interest in the conflict of light and darkness, and the device of an allegorical figure.

These two descriptions can be more closely related by the frontispiece design by Godefroy which Coale did use for volumes III and IV of *The Portico* in 1817. An allegorical figure seated at the water's edge may be identified as America by the feathered headdress.[4] The rest of the composition, however, was derived from the 1811 exhibition piece. The eagle presents to America a lyre symbolizing music in particular and the arts in general; the flame rising from his head is an age-old sign of creativity. In

[2] *First Annual Exhibition of the Society of Artists of the United States. 1811* (Philadelphia, [1811]), pp. 19-20.

[3] *Third Annual Exhibition of the Columbian Society of Artists and the Pennsylvania Academy. 1813* (Philadelphia, 1813), p. 12.

[4] James Hazen Hyde, " L'Iconographie des Quatre Parties du Monde," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. v, X (1924), 256-58.

his talons the eagle holds arrows representing the power that forces "the harpies of prejudice and ignorance" down into the clouds of darkness. Beside America are the plow of agriculture, the rudder of navigation, and the bundled goods of commerce. In the distance are Pegasus and the mounts and temples of antiquity. It is difficult for us to see the shafts of light which cut across the picture as proceeding from antiquity, although this may well be exactly the interpretation intended by Godefroy; they act visually as a plane separating the ancient and modern worlds.

In these three works spread over six or seven years Godefroy employed a vocabulary of symbols with very specific literary meanings. In resurrecting elements of an unused design and adapting them to another purpose, he displayed both an economy and a pride in his ability to express concepts which were characteristic of his times and his own turn of thought by a very literal rendering of figures of speech in pictorial images, for example, "the harpies of prejudice and ignorance." Obviously some of the images, such as the allegorical figures, were in common use and received only a special application from Godefroy, but once entered into his vocabulary they were employed in other phases of his activity. On his Battle Monument of 1814 he placed a large allegorical figure representing Baltimore, holding the ancient rudder to symbolize navigation, accompanied by the American eagle. Early descriptions of the Monument emphasized the allegorical nature of every detail in this work, even to the fillets of the fasces which alluded to the soldiers who died and by their deaths strengthened the Union.[5]

One particular composition displays some of the familiar elements of his imagery and also reinforces an allegory with a realistic representation. This is a vignette which Godefroy designed about 1814-15 for the policy of the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company.[6]

[5] See especially the descriptions in *Niles' Weekly Register*, Apr. 29, 1815, and Sept. 7, 1822, and the *Port Folio*, 4th ser., I (1816), 1-12.

[6] After 1813 Godefroy customarily identified himself with the honorific title "P. A." (Pennsylvania Academy); "1814-15" is a hypothetical date. The Company was incorporated in 1807, but the vignette was not engraved until much later. The firm Danforth, Bald & Co., given as the engravers of this plate, functioned 1850-52; George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860* (New Haven, 1957), pp. 23-24. Perhaps the engraving of 1850-52 was the replacement of an old worn-out plate.

This composition offers some information on Godefroy's earliest architecture.

The main figure, derived from his favorite goddess Minerva, who is identified by such attributes as the helmet, shield, and breastplate, is an allegorical figure standing for the Company itself. The application is made more specific by her winged heels, no doubt an allusion to the speed with which the Company aided its insurees after disaster. An eagle, on the ready, perches beside her on a fountain shaped as the lower part of a column, from which gushes that prime necessity for fire-fighting, a stream of water. The eagle and the figure hover protectively over a barrel and bales of goods and other symbols of commercial value. A building under construction at the left is balanced by a burning structure at the right while around the allegorical figure are crowds of people bringing apparatus and fighting the fire. As a result, the meaning of the large allegorical device is emphasized by a representation of the actual activity.

All four of these works represent small commissions which supplemented Godefroy's perennially insufficient income from teaching. Other examples of such commissions are known: *The Old Court House and Powder Magazine* and the design for the company flag of the Columbian Volunteers, both of 1819.[7] Presumably other designs exist unrecognized, while still others were probably never reproduced as originally planned.

Behind the eagle stands a building clearly based on his Chapel for St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, 1806. Between this illustration and both the early rendering by Godefroy and the existing building, there are some discrepancies, especially in the row of openings on the upper level of the façade and in the type of tower. There is such a strong resemblance, however, that one is justified in identifying the building as the Chapel and in seeing here the cupola and tower originally constructed but long since destroyed. A portion of the Chapel design is reproduced on the cover of *MdHM*, March, 1957. See also Richard B. Howland and Eleanor P. Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 40-42 and pls. 27, 28 (the abbreviation *AB* will be used for further references to this book); and William Sener Rusk, "Godefroy and St. Mary's Chapel," *Liturgical Arts*, III (1933), 140-45.

[7] *The Old Court House* was drawn by Godefroy after an earlier view of 1786. (The Court House referred to was demolished 1809-15 and had stood on the present site of the Battle Monument.) Its engravers, Joseph Cone and W. H. Freeman, are elusive figures and the few fixed points in their careers provide only a hypothetical date in the late 1820's for the actual engraving. See David M. Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* ([New York] 1907), I, 53, 91-92 and II, 73, #427; Mantle Fielding, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* (Philadelphia, 1917), pp. 18, 116; and Groce and Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 143. When the plate was first used is uncertain; all the copies I have seen were in or from John Pendleton Kennedy's *Address delivered before the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts* (Baltimore, 1851).

For the flag of the Columbian Volunteers (the design of which, signed and dated August, 1818, is preserved in the MdHS), see Anna Wells Rutledge, "Fling Out the Banner," *Antiques*, XLVII (1945), 38-39.

In contrast, his earliest and largest finished drawing, the *Battle of Pultowa*, 1804-05, was made to while away the time spent at the Château d'If where he was imprisoned for anti-Napoleonic activities.[8] Apparently Godefroy decided at some later date to have this piece reproduced. A Parisian engraver to whom the work was shown, perhaps in the 1830's, commented: ". . . in most, if not all modern representations of battle, the skill of the Artist is confined to a group in the foreground, representing the commander and his staff; while the rest is but an indistinct perspective —whereas in this, we are introduced into the midst of a broken army with various incidents and episodes of a disastrous field; and how the author contrived to harmonize the effect of such multiplied action, under such disadvantages, was absolutely incomprehensible." [9] This judgment picked out one of the characteristics of Godefroy's pictorial imagination, his interest in a multitude of descriptive, narrative details. Around the injured Charles XII battle rages furiously while in the foreground, amidst the confusion of broken and abandoned military impedimenta, horses struggle and men try to relieve their sufferings or lie in the ungainly poses of violent death. On either side figures continue far into the distant landscape in an incredible profusion of military activities.

The anonymous engraver's comment contains a few points worthy of further consideration. The representation contrasted with standard battle compositions in the diffusion of interest to episodes surrounding the main group, and, despite the difficult working conditions, the artist achieved a notable harmony. A description of Godefroy in 1794 supplements the first point, in-

[8] The *Battle of Pultowa* has the longest and most certain history of Godefroy's works. It was exhibited in the Baltimore Library in the spring and summer of 1807, at the Pennsylvania Academy in 1811, at the Royal Academy in London in 1821, at the Ministry of the Maison du Roi in 1827, and at the Paris Salon in 1833. Shortly afterward it was acquired by Ebenezer Jackson, of Middletown, Conn., a former pupil of Godefroy's at St. Mary's Seminary. It remained in the family until 1957 when Mr. John G. Jackson, Jr., of Mill Neck, L. I., N. Y., presented it to the MdHS. I am much indebted to Mr. Jackson who graciously permitted me to study the work while it was in his possession. For additional history concerning this drawing, see Quynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

[9] These remarks are preserved in an old printed leaflet in the possession of Mr. Robert F. Jackson, of Cooperstown, N. Y. To Mr. Jackson, the penultimate private owner of the *Battle of Pultowa*, and to other descendants of Ebenezer Jackson, I owe my thanks for their hospitality and for information offered through correspondance extending in some matters over many years.

forming us that he "was better at making sketches and easy compositions than at bringing the slightest work to a satisfactory conclusion." [10] That the activity served as an escape from idleness during imprisonment helps explain both the amount of detail and the fact that it was completed. At the same time we must recognize that Godefroy lacked the knowledge or ability to compose in a neoclassical manner.

The material difficulties of working in prison have been recited several times.[11] Godefroy had to use some 120 pieces of paper for the drawing, pasting them togther during the boat trip to America and adding India ink and sepia washes in Philadelphia. Many of the separate pieces may be explained, however, by his weakness in handling the proportions and foreshortenings in some of the more difficult figures. Some passages, such as heads, were so worked over that patches were required to provide clean working surfaces. His only implement was the "stump of a pen;" but, it may be observed, a "stump" to one man may be a perfectly adequate tool for another. His ink was made from the soot in his stove. This was far from posing a difficulty, as wood soot was the only raw material for bistre, one of the most popular artist's inks for centuries.[12] The recital of these "difficulties" is only an example of Godefroy's exaggerations, made to bring additional interest to the artist's person in the hope of transferring it to the drawing.

Enough works have been presented now to permit the characterization of Godefroy's technique and style. Other drawings may be cited to provide confirmation and expansion of stylistic observations where appropriate. The human figure, for example, is well represented in the pieces already seen. The drawing for the façade of the Chapel of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, ca. 1807, and the 1810 design for the Baltimore Washington Monu-

[10] M. E. J. Delécluze, *Louis David: son école et son temps* (Paris, 1855), p. 12, referred to in Rich Borneman, "Some Ledoux-Inspired Buildings in America," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XIII (1954), 15-17. The testimony of Delécluze must be used circumspectly since it is an old man's recollections of his boyhood.

[11] Carolina V. Davison, "Maximilian Godefroy," *MdHM*, XXIX (1934), 211-12; *Maryland History Notes*, XV (1957), 11; see also the article by John C. Schmidt, "Jigsaw Puzzle Painting," Baltimore *Sunday Sun*, Nov. 3, 1957, with an analytical sketch showing most, but not all, of the separate pieces of paper used for the drawing.

[12] James Watrous, *The Craft of Old-Master Drawings* (Madison, Wisc., 1957), pp. 74-78.

ment reveal only more emphatically Godefroy's eighteenth-century origins in the mannered poses of the elongated, svelte, and flowingly draped figures.[13] In the vignette for the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company there are certain peculiarities which appear fairly consistently in his figures: a hunching of the backs, a tendency to shorten the legs below the knees and to elongate them above, a similar disproportion in the arms, an uneasiness with features. The busy humans around the allegorical figure, in addition, show a blocky awkwardness in their poses and actions. This treatment of the genre figures in contemporary garb may result from contact with either Benjamin Henry Latrobe or Italian artists in Baltimore whose neoclassicism would dilute the belated rococo elements in Godefroy.[14]

Wherever figures appear in the drawings there is an overriding compulsion toward an anecdotal or genre situation. Figures appear to be in conversation, one often making a sweeping gesture, perhaps drawing attention to a piece of architecture or to an action shown elsewhere. The action is not always consonant with the main subject of the drawing, for instance, the wrestling boys in the Washington Monument design.[15] The *Battle of Pultowa* contains a multitude of eye-catching activities. This concern with descriptive and narrative details not only characterizes his use of figures but is an important part of the very literary attitude evident in the allegories.

Landscape, including trees, rocks, and running water, was so prominent in his work that he came to be listed as a specialist in this category for his exhibitions at the Royal Academy in

[13] It is by no means certain that the Chapel drawing in the MdHS is the one which was exhibited in Philadelphia in 1811, or the one Godefroy exhibited in London in 1820 and in Paris in 1827. One drawing of the Chapel was being circulated in Philadelphia as early as January 1807; see the letter by "D" in *The Observer*, I (Feb. 28, 1807), 131-33. Professor Robert C. Smith, of the University of Pennsylvania, has kindly offered the suggestion that "D" may have been Thomas Dorsey, the author of an architectural handbook with Gothic designs.

The Washington Monument design, owned by the Peale Museum, is permanently exhibited in the base of the Monument. I cannot over-thank Wilbur H. Hunter, Jr., and Charles Elam of the Peale Museum for their continued aid and encouragement on a variety of matters connected with Godefroy and Baltimore.

[14] Davison, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-02; and Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York, 1955), p. 269.

[15] Figures appear in Latrobe's architectural drawings primarily to suggest the scale of his projected buildings. In contrast, Godefroy's figures stand apart from the buildings and call attention to themselves by their overt, irrelevant activities.

London.[16] Whether or not Godefroy studied the works of the great classic landscapist of seventeenth-century France, the long-lived tradition of Claude Lorrain is especially strong in his watercolors and drawings until about 1810. The source of a soft light is rather low and off to one side, out of the picture, so that the trees and figures cast long shadows across the surface plane usually, however, advancing from or receding into the depth of the picture. For trees Godefroy specifies only the trunks and a few main limbs, the remainder being lost in the bushy deciduous foliage rendered in a very French manner with fattened parallel brush marks. Spatial recession is halted by one or two continuous planes across the background, outlined to suggest foliage, but with a minimal differentiation of the parts and separate trees. The muddy color is predominantly bluish, with a heavy reliance on dingy greys and blacks.

Only when close to Latrobe, around 1812, does Godefroy acquire the more English, Gainsborough-like screen of hatching strokes for the leafage, the technique employed for a small landscape in grey watercolor or wash, now in the Maryland Historical Society.[17] Always the allegorist, Godefroy could not refrain from inserting an antique sarcophagus under the cliff. The main foreground element, however, the large tree, is striking in the broad treatment, the clear tonalities, and the loose, fluid brushstrokes—also apparent in the other growing things, bushes, grasses, vines. This technique contrasts with the tight yet indecisive cottony foliage and dense color of earlier pieces, like the Chapel façade drawing and the Washington Monument design. The inscription at the lower right, " Max. Godefroy 1812.," offers some important evidense for explaining the changed technique of this study. It was certainly printed by Latrobe with whom Godefroy was friendly for several years and who stayed with the latter on at least one occasion while visiting in Baltimore.[18] The drawing discloses in both the freer technique and the more English treatment how

[16] Algernon Graves, *A Dictionary of Artists* . . . 3rd ed (London, 1901), p. 112.

[17] This drawing was given to the MdHS in 1940 by Raphael Semmes along with a number of sketches and drawings once owned by John H. B. Latrobe. See Hamlin, *op. cit.*, chap. 22, " Latrobe as Artist."

[18] Davison, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10. I attribute the inscription to B. H. Latrobe on the basis of a familiarity with the latter's writing and printing, derived from examining scores of pages of his journals and drawings. A note in the MdHS records Mrs. Ouynn's opinion that this is not Godefroy's printing.

THE BATTLE OF POLTOWA, 1709

Drawing by Maximilian Godefroy

THE UNION MANUFACTORIES OF MARYLAND ON PATAPSCO FALLS

Drawing by Maximilian Godefroy

DETAIL FROM *Union Manufactories* SHOWING VIGNETTE

VIGNETTE ON BALTIMORE FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY POLICY

From a drawing by Maximilian Godefroy

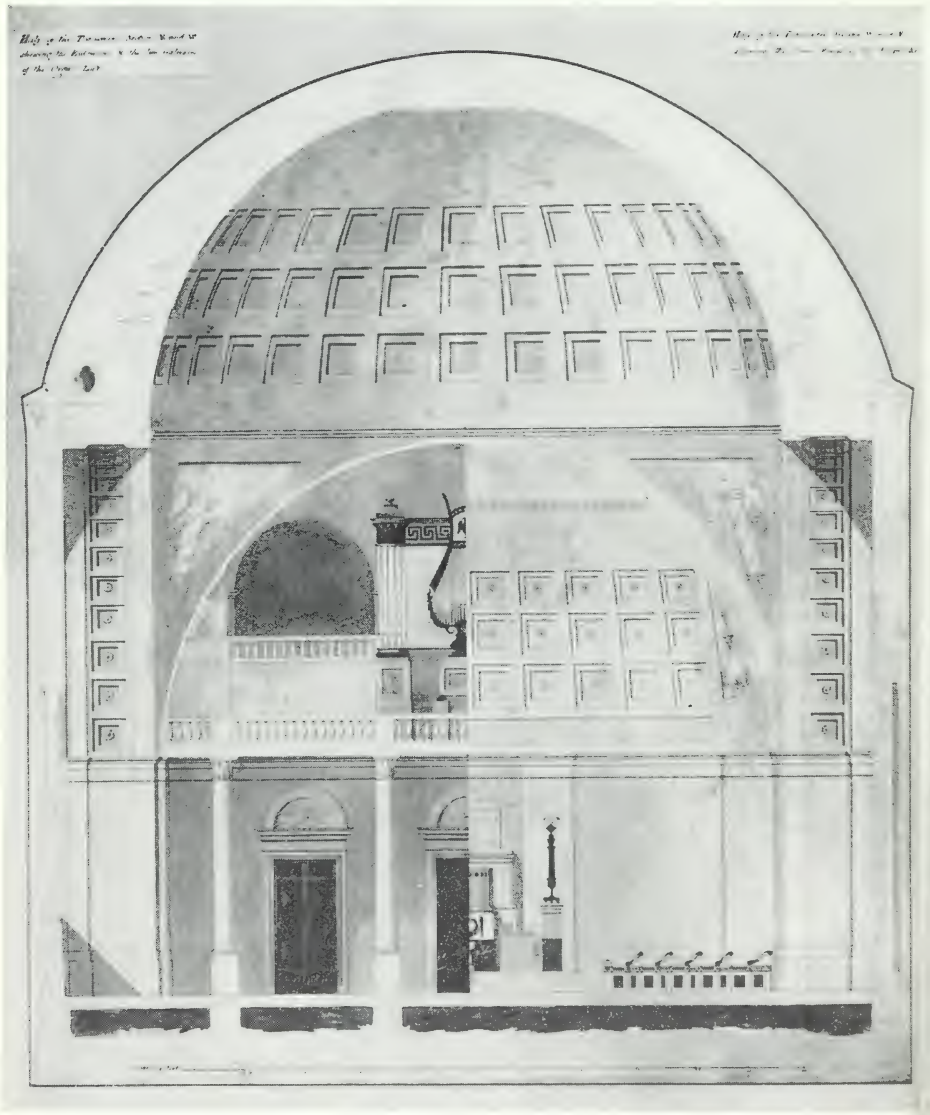
Landscape Drawing by Maximilian Godefroy

Vignette on the Frontispiece of *The Portico*

From a drawing by Maximilian Godefroy

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH, BALTIMORE

Drawing by Maximilian Godefroy



INTERIOR OF FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH, BALTIMORE

Drawing by Maximilian Godefroy

much Godefroy profited from his contact with the far more proficient watercolorist. The small and charming *Old House*, owned by Mr. Robert F. Jackson of Cooperstown, N. Y., is probably slightly earlier, yet shows the same debt to Latrobe. There is, moreover, a retention and clarification of certain aspects Godefroy probably considered satisfactory in his early manner—the rocks, the consistency of the lighting, and the figures.

Later, in the perspective view of the Unitarian Church, a drawing of about 1818, the technique is even more loose and free.[19] The foliage around the simplified skeleton is formed by a heavier stroke with a wetter brush, and the scheme of hatching gives way to an assemblage of blots which enhances the space-filling roundness of the trees.

Throughout his work the preferred side-lighting is especially effective on rocks where the shadow along one side emphasizes the three-dimensionality of the object. In this respect he differs from Latrobe whose rocks are more gradually rounded.[20] If Godefroy changes in his handling of rocks, it is toward an increased angularity and crystalline sharpness at the edges of meeting planes and toward an exaggeration of irregularities by the use of contrasting lights and shadows.

A large number of his drawings are arranged in such a way as to suggest a preparation for engraving. The reproduction of drawings and paintings was long recognized as a source of income for artists and had been practiced successfully by such men as William Hogarth and Jean-Baptiste Greuze. A still more important consideration motivated his interest in engraving and influenced the format of many of his drawings. Convinced of his artistic genius Godefroy wished to preserve his reputation by publishing an edition of his works. This desire, although documented only some years later, may have been present from his earliest years in America.[21]

[19] This drawing belongs to the First Unitarian Church, Baltimore, and has been exhibited at the Baltimore Museum of Art; *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Painting in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1945), p. 37.

[20] See Hamlin, *op. cit.*, frontispiece *et al.* Rocks of a prismatic form occur in Latrobe's drawings only under the proper geological circumstances; see, for example, *ibid.*, p. 39.

[21] The Salters' Company, Godefroy to I. Hall, London, August 15, 1821. I am indebted to Mr. W. R. Nichols, Clerk of the Salters' Company, who searched for and copied the Godefroy material in the records of the Company.

Godefroy's conviction of his greatness was one of the factors in his break with Latrobe; Hamlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 491-92 and n. 10.

Godefroy used a simple pattern for mounting his drawings, one which was not only a preparation for engraving, but also made them more effective for public exhibition. In this scheme a large picture was mounted with one or two small associated pieces and a descriptive legend. The pattern is comparatively rare in America at the time and Godefroy's consistency in using variations of this format make it a characteristic of his mind and hand.

The basic format is employed for the *Battle of Pultowa*, which was eventually examined by an engraver. Below the large battle scene are two labels with a lengthy inscription (one label in French, the other in English), separated by a vignette pasted in the center showing the Château d'If, where the drawing was done. For the rendering of St. Mary's Chapel the scheme is varied so that two vignettes, a plan and a section, flank the legend. Like the *Battle of Pultowa*, all are on separate pieces of paper. The legend, moreover, is a beautiful example of the many possibilities in letter-types for the skilled calligrapher using the quill; it is also a fine test of the engraver's technique. A more restrained lettering appears on Godefroy's large drawing for the Washington Monument, and the entire work is on a single sheet of paper. At the lower left is an inscription characteristic of representations of architecture: "Max^{m}. Godefroy invenit et delineavit 1810." Drawings of the Battle Monument have disappeared, but the contemporary engraving reflects the pieced-together format and bears the line: "Max. Godefroy, Esq^{r}. P.A. &c. invenit & delin^{t}. 1815." [22] Undoubtedly Godefroy did not only the allegory but the whole frontispiece design for *The Portico* of 1817. The engraver has preserved the quality of the separate pieces of paper and even suggested raised panels for the written matter. A final variation appears in the cross-section of the Unitarian Church where the nearly silhouetted architectural drawing, pasted to a rectangular sheet of paper, leaves spandrel-shaped upper corners for descriptive labels.[23]

One purpose of a detailed cataloguing of technical and stylistic characteristics is to enable us to identify other works by the artist in question. Often the internal evidence may be buttressed with

[22] *AB*, pl. 26.

[23] *AB*, pl. 30; this plate, following Godefroy's silhouette, omits the two labels. Godefroy had a drawing of the interior of this building in Europe; Archives Nationales MS F^{18} 650, Godefroy to the Vicomte Rohault de Fleury, Feb. 8, 1827.

information gained from other sources. External evidence alone can be misleading and requires stylistic confirmation.

There is a candidate for attribution to Godefroy in a large unfinished drawing entitled *The Union Manufactories of Maryland on Patapsco Falls Baltimore County.*[24] Entrepreneurs organized this company in 1808 and immediately began the construction of a textile works at Ellicott's Mills, some ten miles west of Baltimore. The unfinished aspect of the locale suggests that the drawing dates only a few years after the organization of the company. Mill and residential structures appear to be just completed but not yet put into operation. A pile of lumber and felled trees have not yet been removed. Left of center, just above the road and canal, there is a crude, temporary structure which appears to be a brick kiln, probably the source of the building material.

The buildings, almost casually set about in the unfinished landscape, seem to be types transplanted from Baltimore to their rural setting. Any pre-existing structures would probably have been unsuitable for the owners and unattractive to prospective employees.[25] Houses—neat and substantial—would have to be erected along with work buildings. The influence of local traditions in their construction can be seen in the row of workers' dwellings, at the extreme left, which resembles contemporary row housing in Baltimore.[26] The five-bay front mansion near the center is perhaps that of a resident owner or superintendent and would appear quite in place in the city.[27] Between these two social levels is the supervisory class, including foremen, who are provided with dwellings which indicate their intermediate status. Double-houses, another old Baltimore type, are set on either side of the mill buildings.[28] One sign of the future stylistic trend in Baltimore appears in the rather tall proportions of the openings in the double-house to the

[24] This large drawing (30½ x 52 in.), in the MdHS, seems to have no recorded history. I wish to express my appreciation to the staff of the Society for their aid on this and many other aspects of my research.

Although the history of the Company has not been studied, there is a condensed description of the activities surrounding its organization in the act of incorporation, *Laws of Maryland*, 1808. Nov. Sess., chap. XLIX.

[25] The varied problems facing the early mill owners have been considered thoroughly in John Coolidge, *Mill and Mansion* (New York, 1942); for a more concise statement, see Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr., *Rhode Island Architecture* (Providence, 1939), pp. 36-43.

[26] See *AB*, pls. 17, 18, 44, 45.

[27] See *AB*, pls. 20, 22.

[28] See *AB*, pls. 15, 16.

right. Only the actual mill structures in the center approach the status of a new building type.[29] As happened at other early mill sites, these are adaptations of known types—the many-storied brick mansion, the barn with its large loft openings, the belfry of the meeting house. Even the balustrade has a domestic air. Only the large skylights in the tall attics reveal the adaptation of the structures to the industrial need for light. As in other places the builders have worked within their craft traditions, resorting to improvisations as they proved necessary. The whole complex is typical of the nearly self-dependent mill of this age.

There is one piece of external evidence which points to Godefroy as the artist of the large drawing. In 1813 he showed a work at Philadelphia described as follows: "A landscape in black pencil, drawn from nature on the banks of the Patapsco at Ellicott's mills; 2 feet by 1 foot 5 inches." [30] Because of the agreement in time, subject matter, and location, we may justifiably see this work as a preparatory study related in some way to the large unfinished work. In addition the date and subject matter offer a clear link with the study bearing the Latrobe inscription. Certainly Godefroy made sketching trips to the locale of the new factory at the time concerned. Whether Latrobe accompanied him is a question which may never be answered, but which may loom large in view of certain Latrobean aspects of the large drawing.

The artist of the *Union Manufactories* drawing shows the attitude, technique, and style of Godefroy. In their malproportions the figures are certainly his. Many, especially the workmen, have a characteristic awkwardness as they perform their tasks. The group of three gentlemen (the owners?) in the foreground bears the closest resemblance to figures by Latrobe, perhaps because of their costume. By the simplicity of their poses, however, they retain most of the slightly gauche elegance of Godefroy's earlier figures. A concern for the genre appears in the emphasis on people at work or in conversation, in the by-play between man and woman near the spring, and on the far left in the homely domestic scene with its line of laundry.

The trees provide the weakest point of comparison, in part perhaps because the rendering has been so definitely directed

[29] See Coolidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-31.
[30] *Third Annual Exhibition* . . . , p. 12.

toward the engraving process, but also because there are so few of the large and bushy trees preferred by Godefroy. Most of the straggling, half-defoliated trees have been ravaged by flood and weather, and the involved, complicated twistings of the skeletal trunks and branches might be found in the work of any artist of the time who inclined toward the picturesque. However, the rocks—their sharp edges, irregularities, and angularities exaggerated by the side-lighting—answer to what is expected of Godefroy.

In the buildings shown in the *Union Manufactories* there are signs of the influence of Latrobe, but also evidence that Latrobe was not the author of the drawing. He cannot, for example, be debited with the awkward perspective of the factory buildings, especially in the drawing of the balcony complex and the gable-end windows of the main structure. Although inconsistencies in the use and treatment of shadows are not Latrobean, this is not a strong argument one way or the other since these parts may be incomplete. Latrobe's methods are reflected in the treatment of the windows. The artist has struggled valiantly with blues and whites, endeavoring to show every muntin and pane of glass. His weakness in this respect appears immediately in a comparison with parallel areas in Latrobe's masterly drawing of the Gay Street front of the Baltimore Exchange.[31] Yet the *Union Manufactories* artist is certainly imitating Latrobe's manner of rendering such forms, as no other architect of the time works this way. For the Chapel of St. Mary's Godefroy had a very different method of indicating the glazing. In the Washington Monument design the flanking buildings have open window frames, lacking all glazing, the normal representation for this period and the kind Godefroy would have known from European drawings and engravings.

The *Union Manufactories* drawing itself, then, suggests Godefroy in many ways: the style and handling of details, the lighting, the connections with Latrobe. Even the nature of its incompleteness adds to this attribution. Some parts are wholly finished, others in various stages of completion, and still others not even sketched; clouds, paths, bushes, and trees would fill the empty areas. This piecemeal procedure recalls the means and methods employed for the *Battle of Pultowa.* Godefroy's interest in descrip-

[31] *AB*, pl. 33.

tive elements is made startlingly evident by their degree of completeness. Rather than showing an architect's approach to the building as his primary concern, the draftsman has started at the bottom of the scene and finished only the richly detailed foreground setting. There is an obvious fascination with the intricacies of the rocks and growth on either bank of the river, with the great wheel and the water splashing over it while rushing down to the river.

By its format the *Union Manufactories*, dating about 1812, assumes a reasonable place in the sequence of Godefroy's drawings. Although the whole arrangement resembles that of the *Battle of Pultowa*, this drawing is on a single piece of paper, thus recalling the Washington Monument design of 1810. The fine copperplate hand of the inscription and the use of a vignette are not alone sufficient grounds for crediting him with this drawing, since they might be found in the works of other artists. Rather these last two features do suggest that the drawing was intended for engraving.

Although the use of a vignette is not peculiar to Godefroy, the content and complexity of this one are so characteristic of him that it constitutes one of the strongest arguments for his authorship of the drawing. The allegory depicts the belief of the time that both commercial and cultural profit will result from cooperative effort in exploiting the largess of nature for the aggrandizement of America.[32] A large barge (the ship of state?) is drawn from the left by a crowd of figures at the right who are at the same time engaged in a variety of productive activities—a farmer plowing, a woman spinning, a merchant in his counting house, many others less clearly identified. All these, and even a sailing vessel representing navigation, pull ropes which converge on the prow of the barge and personify the enribboned legend, "A pull, a strong pull, a pull altogether." In the rear of the barge are a large rock and a pile of implements, including the sword and spears of military power and the lyre. The sun's rays reflect from a mirror supported by a genius (the genius of study?) and pick out the sculptured relief of a head on the rock, another

[32] The nationalist sentiments of the age of the Embargo permeate the act of incorporation where the purpose of the company is stated as "establishing, carrying on and encouraging, manufactories of all the useful and necessary articles which have heretofore been imported from foreign countries; . . ." (See n. 24.)

symbol of cultural significance. The tiny figures in the boat are touched by another of the sun's life-giving rays, one which passes through a wreath held by an eagle. In addition to the expansive working out of the concept, there is an area of more purely allegorical content on an island to the rear. In a group of three figures, one stands in the center and holds a wreath over a kneeling figure on the right. The third, a seated Minerva-like figure, may be recognized as America by the flag attached to her spear, a spear that ends in an anchor. Left of the group a pregnant figure bends over a small waterfall, her face and arms in the water, a rather obvious reference to nature's bounty in the form of the power-giving Patapsco Falls. The whole, though small, representation expresses a magnificent confidence in the results expected from manufacturing enterprises undertaken during the embargo preceding the War of 1812. The complexity of this expression of America's determination to be self-sufficient bespeaks the mental attitude of Godefroy, just as his vocabulary of symbols appears in a mere listing of those employed in the allegory—a Minerva figure, geniuses, the eagle, the lyre, images representing agriculture, commerce, and navigation. And, as in the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company vignette, there is Godefroy's method of reinforcing the meaning with representations of actual activities.

The allegorical element occurs not only in Godefroy's drawings; it is surprisingly frequent in his architectural decoration. The concept of unity, for example, appears in much of his architecture, symbolized especially by the fasces. The fasces appear in the work of numerous artists of this time in Baltimore and other American cities as well as in Europe. Godefroy uses them in the façade sculptures of the Commercial and Farmers Bank of 1810, in the stuccoed pendentives of the Unitarian Church, in later work in France, but above all in the Battle Monument where they are the primary symbol.[33] The figure of Baltimore atop the Monument, reflected in his *Portico* frontispiece, is also his main sculptural contribution to the Baltimore Exchange, 1816, as projected by Latrobe. The accompanying attributes of agriculture and commerce in these examples are present in the Bank of 1810 in the figures of Mercury and Ceres on the façade and in heads of the

[33] Some of this material has been dealt with in my article "The Public Memorial and Godefroy's Battle Monument," forthcoming in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*; but see also Borneman, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

same deities beside the vaults inside the building.[34] Two heads of Mercury and two relief panels of the caduceus flank the main entrance of the Exchange. The *Union Manufactories* allegory of 1812 has all these elements plus the signs of culture. The lyre especially, which may be postulated for the diploma vignette intended for St. Mary's Seminary, is in the *Portico* frontispiece and receives a monumental treatment as the shape of the organ for the Unitarian Church.[35] Among the concepts which preoccupied Godefroy, several others also crop up frequently, including the image of fleeting time, the American eagle, the cultural significance of antiquity.

A question is posed by Godefroy's intense interest in complex and fanciful allegories. How can we reconcile them with the simplicity of his architecture which achieves much of its effect through the bare wall surfaces and the three-dimensional conception of the masses? Perhaps these two attitudes are not contradictory, but complementary. The allegories of his drawings and decorations may represent the innate literary tendencies of his imagination, while his buildings are created in a style consciously acquired from Latrobe and other contemporaries. The term "Romantic Classicism," used in reference to architecture of the period and implying such a duality, may be especially appropriate as a description of Godefroy's total work.

Godefroy early established a fairly specific language of symbols and used it for several years, with slight modifications, in an amazing variety of applications. The practice is suggestive of his very literary turn of mind which finds its visual outlet, in his drawings, so extraordinarily dependent on description, narrative, and genre. The components of his symbolic language have full verbal counterparts; little is uniquely visual. Several times in his lengthy descriptions and interpretations Godefroy himself made rather complete translations into words.[36]

This way of thinking extends to other activities throughout his

[34] Wilbur H. Hunter, Jr., "Salvage of 1810 Sculpture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XIV (1955), 27-28.

[35] The lyre-shaped organ was highly appreciated in its day; see the anonymous article in *The Portfolio*, May 1, 1819, pp. 389-93. The engraving of the exterior illustrating this description was made after still another drawing by Godefroy in 1819.

[36] One example is the description of the Battle Monument in *Niles' Weekly Register*, Apr. 29, 1815, which I believe was written by Godefroy.

lifetime. His early essays, the mystery he built over his past, his constant exaggerations—these are all verbal constructions, some of which Godefroy himself evidently came to believe.[37] Now, while the creative imagination escapes definition, some of its workings can be described.[38] The tendency to accept eventually his own exaggerations finds a parallel in his artistic efforts. An intense absorption with his symbols may account for the way in which a minor symbol, the often-used lyre, emerges suddenly and magnificently as a major focal point, the organ in the Unitarian Church. If this explanation of his invention and the parallel with his extra-artistic life are valid, then in Godefroy, indeed, we may be dealing with the kind of person for whom the symbol is more real than actuality.

[37] For the early essays, see Quynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11. The exaggerations, or falsifications, are the burden of Mrs. Quynn's interesting and valuable article. I think her judgment of Godefroy is overly harsh. She writes, for example, of Godefroy's claim on the city of Rennes: "The City Council supported the Mayor's position that this claim was not justified, but they were sorry for Godefroy and gave him 3,000 francs." (*Ibid.*, p. 24.) Despite several harangues by the Mayor, the City Council unanimously, except for the Mayor, supported Godefroy and specifically did not accept the Mayor's grounds for dismissing him. One sentence from the resolution granting the 3,000 francs reads: "Le Conseil déclare que, dans son opinion, le nombre, la nature et la variété des travaux exécutés par S^r. Godefroy, depuis un an, dont il a présenté le Tableau à l'appris de son demande, sont la véritable mesure et la preuve de son zèle et de son activité; qu'enfin les documents parvenus au Conseil tendent à lui faire regretter cet architecte." The verb "regretter" means not that the Council felt sorry for Godefroy, but that it was sorry to lose him. (Archives de la Ville de Rennes, D/1 19, *Extrait des Delibérations de Conseil Municipale de la Ville de Rennes. Séances ordinaires des 2, 4 & 5 août 1828.*) I am indebted to M. Jézéquel, Archiviste de la Ville, for his aid while I worked in Rennes.

[38] The description by Henri Poincaré has not yet been surpassed; his essay "Mathematical Creation" is most readily located in the Mentor edition of the anthology *The Creative Process*, edited by Brewster Ghiselin.

PLACE NAMES OF BALTIMORE AND HARFORD COUNTIES

By William B. Marye

BY way of explanation, the author is a native of the Fork of Gunpowder River, near tidewater. He has known Bush River since childhood and has been in and out of most of the creeks and coves of Harford County. Acquaintance with the bay shore of Harford County and its creeks was made from canoe trips in 1913, 1914 and 1916. The object of these trips was to search for evidences of Indian occupation and to question natives about place names and traditions.

The greater part of the material on which this work is based was in hand by 1916, but researches on these subjects have been made from time to time ever since. A previous article on place names in this *Magazine* in 1930 covered Abbey Island to Cat Creek.[1] This article covers Gunpowder River to Swan Creek. In spite of every effort, certain place names still elude all efforts to explain them.[2] It should be kept in mind that some land patent

[1] In the previous article (*MdHM*, XXV [1930], 321-365) the following names were included: Abbey Island, Ah Ha Branch, Amos Island, Back River, Bald Friar (near the Susquehanna), Bald Friar (near Winter's Run), Basin, Bare Hills, Bears Run or Branch, Bear Cabin Branch, Bear Neck Field, Bear Neck, Bears Wallowing Pond Branch, Bear Creek (also references to bears), Beaver Dams of Long Bridge Branch (Anne Arundel County), Beaver Dam Run (Baltimore County), Beaver Dam Run (Harford County), Beaver Neck Branch or Beaver Neck Creek, Bear Point, Bee Tree Hill, Ben's Run, Bengies Point, Bird River, Black Island, Block House Cove, Boobies Island, Boone's Creek, Boothby Hill, Bread and Cheese Branch, Broad Neck, Broad Run (and the Indian Graves), Buck Hill, Buck Spring Field, Buffalo Branch, Bush Cabin Branch, Bush River, Bynam's Run, Carroll's Island, Cat Creek, and Canton. There is also additional information on Baltimore County names in the author's articles on "The Great Maryland Barrens," *MdHM*, L (1955), 11-23, 120-142, 234-253. The possessive *'s* has been dropped from many place names in modern usage (see e. g., *Gazetteer of Maryland*). This tends to obscure the derivation of the name, so the possessive *'s* has been retained, where applicable, in this article.

[2] I cite as an example Upper Falls. This name is appropriate to neither of two places to which it has been applied. In 1877 it was the name of a post office situated between Franklinville and the present Upper Falls (G. M. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore County* [1877], p. 61). When this post office was transferred

names were derived from place names, while other land patent names became place names.

Gunpowder River

Gunpowder River was, beyond a doubt, at one time a beautiful, even a noble estuary; but it suffered degradation from loss of depth in the course of the past century as a result of the immense quantities of alluvion brought down and deposited by two fresh-water streams, the Great (or Big) and the Little Falls, particularly the former. After heavy rains its waters, from shore to shore, are a rich yellow. Since 1917 vast military developments and installations [3] have taken over Gunpowder Neck. On the western side of Gunpowder River, and in Bird River, bungalow colonies have taken up many miles of the shores, which have been divested of their former rural characteristics. A rare, and irreplacable solitude is gone forever. Anyone who, like the author, was privileged to know the lovely Cadwalader estate, Maxwell's Point —seventeen farms and over eight thousand acres—not to mention Lego's Point (Hurst's) and the Philadelphia Gunning Club property, does not like to think of Gunpowder Neck as it is today.

There is little doubt in my mind that the name of Gunpowder River was known to the mariners of Chesapeake Bay some years before any settlements were made in that river by white people. Names of this class are very rare. So far as I am aware, Gunpowder River is first mentioned by that name in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called " Powdersby," laid out for Godfrey Harmer, the Indian trader,[4] August 29, 1658. The land, not named in the certificate, is described as situated " on the west side of Chesapeake Bay and near the mouth of a River in the said Bay called Gunpowder River." [5] It lies at the mouth of Bush

to Star's Corner, at the junction of the old Joppa Road and the Franklinville Road, the name went with it. We generally called the place " the Corner." Star's Corner was originally known as McCubbinsville. The McCubbins, who gave the place its name, about 1800, were said to have been a race of very small men. One of them was seen (so it was related) climbing up a pokeberry bush, a typical example of country humor.

[3] The U. S. Army Chemical Center and the Aberdeen Proving Ground.

[4] See this author's " Early Settlers of the Site of Havre de Grace," *MdHM*, XIII (1918), 197-202.

[5] Baltimore County Land Records (hereafter cited as BCLR), Liber Q, f. 294, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

River [6] at Lego's Point.[7] No lands were surveyed along Gunpowder River until 1659.

Whence comes the name of Gunpowder River? How explain it? A guidebook, published in 1802, gives us the following explanation: "Great Gunpowder River—Between this and Bush River is gunpowder neck, so named from a tradition that the Indians, who formerly lived on this tract, when first acquainted with the use of gunpowder, supposed it to be a vegetable seed; they purchased a quantity, and sowed it, on this neck, expecting it to produce a good crop." [8]

Is this a true tradition? If any such incident occurred, I doubt if Gunpowder Neck was the scene of this deception. Indeed,

[6] Baltimore County Rent Roll, Calvert Papers No. 833, f. 215, MdHS, 650 acres, "Warrington, sur. 9 ffeb 1664 for Nath. Shields [Stiles] at a point of marsh on ye southernmost side of Bush River"—"This land formerly called Powdersby." 200 acres, Powdersby, sur. Aug. 29, 1658: "Ye record says on a point near the mouth of Susquehanna River but it lies on a point at ye mouth of Bush River." This land had the same number of acres and was laid out on the same date as the survey recorded in Liber Q, f. 294 (note 5), and is, undoubtedly, the same land. The record continues: "Poss by Benjamin Legoe for ye orphans of Wm Hill entered before by the name of Warrington."

[7] A deed recorded among the land records of Baltimore County, dated Feb. 4, 1726, conveyed possession of "Warrington" from John Hill, mariner, to Rees Hinton, of Cecil County. This deed recites that Nathaniel Stiles, for whom "Warrington" was surveyed, died in 1676, upon whose death the land was sold to John Hill, grandfather of the grantor. Benjamin Lego, originally of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, horn turner, aged 25, bound himself as an apprentice and servant to Richard Kitchener, of Stepney, Middlesex, Oct. 24, 1698, to serve him "in the plantation of Virginia beyond the seas for four years next ensuing to his arrival in Virginia. (BCLR, Liber T. R. No. R. A., f. 355). Before he had completed his term of apprenticeship, in fact by 1699, he was living in Baltimore County. (A Book for Recording The County Taxables and Taxeys for Baltimore County, MS. MdHS.) There he married Mary, the widow of William Hill. Sept. 25, 1707, Benjamin Lego and Mary, his wife, executrix of William Hill, of Baltimore County, deceased, rendered an account of the said Hill's estate. (Accounts, HR). He gave his name to Lego's Point (Lego's Bar), and died in 1759, at an advanced age (about 86). "Warrington" was resurveyed for William Rumsey and John Baldwin, of Cecil County, May 9, 1734 (Land Records, HR) at which time Benjamin Lego, "an ancient inhabited on Warrington," testified as to a bounded tree. Some time after this resurvey was made "Warrington" was owned as follows: Thomas Downie, 128 acres; Benjamin Legoe, 386 acres; William Hill, 140 acres. (Baltimore County Rent Roll, Vol. 1, Land Office, HR.) The Legoes Point farm, 486 acres, was offered for sale in the *Maryland Journal*, Apr. 17, 1787. Benjamin Lego left two sons, Spencer and Benedict Lego. This family continued to reside in Gunpowder Neck, at or near the old home place, until the latter part of the past century. Among the last representatives were Amos Lego and "Squire" Lego. More recently, Lego's Point belonged to the Hurst family, of Baltimore. There is a considerable Indian shell-heap at Lego's Point.

[8] S. S. Moore and T. W. Jones, *Traveller's Directory, or A Pocket Companion; shewing the main road from Philadelphia to New York and from Philadelphia to Washington* (Philadelphia, 1802).

there is no reason to believe there were any Indian towns on or near Gunpowder River in historical times. Nonetheless, the name may have some connection with the Indians; but that which seems to me the more likely, is that it is connected with the name of Salt Peter Creek.[9] The lower parts of this creek are bounded on the south by Carroll's Island. Among the names by which this island was called in early colonial times is Gunpowder Island.[10]

In early historical times the mouth of Gunpowder River lay between the western end of Spry's Island and Miller's Island.[11] Back River and Middle River were regarded as branches of Gunpowder River.[12] However, during the past century the Bay broke through between Spry's Island and Rickett's point and considerable

[9] Salt petre is, of course, an ingredient of gunpowder. The name of Salt Peter Creek occurs in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Salt Petre Neck," which was laid out for James Denton, Nov. 19, 1665, and recorded at the Land Office, but in a Baltimore County Rent Roll (Calvert Papers 883, f. 218) the date is: "19 October, 1664." No earlier mention of the name has been found by this author but it may well be older. The land lies on the north side of Salt Peter Creek and runs across the neck to Gunpowder River. It remained in the Denton family for nearly a century, until it was acquired by William Andrews, who incorporated it in a farm of 650 acres, which he calls in his will, Dec. 1, 1781, "Graces Quarter." In the past century the old Graces Quarter farm was a well-known ducking shore. Battery Point, at the mouth of Salt Peter Creek, so named for a massive "battery" of rocks, was formerly called Graces Point. (Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore County* (1877), p. 69).

[10] *MdHM*, XXV (1930), 362. In this article I point out that Carroll's Island was formerly known as Lee's Island, Phillips' Island, Carvill's Island and Gunpowder Island.

[11] Miller's Island was surveyed for John Arding, Mar. 15, 1676, under the name of "Ardington" (BCLR), who in his will, Nov. 21, 1692, calls it the "fifty acres at the Island Point." His certificate of survey calls for the mouth of Back River. "Ardington" was resurveyed for Stephen Bently, May 20, 1714, after which it was known as Bently's Island (BCLR, Liber L. L. No. B., f. 75). Thomas Stansbury escheated "Ardington" and called it "Stansbury's Venture." It was patented to him, Nov. 22, 1726. On Mar. 14, 1759, he had it resurveyed and called it "Stansbury's Island." (Balt. Co., Patented Certificates, HR). The resurvey is described as an island formerly known as Bently's Island. It calls for "a point called the Island Point *which makes the mouth of Back River and Gunpowder River.*" On May 27, 1746, Daniel Dulany advertised for the return of two servants who had run away from his White Marsh plantation in Baltimore County and had "gone down the Bay from Miller's Island." (Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*). On Sept. 19, 1816, Aquila S. Stinchcomb advertised for sale in the *Maryland Journal* a farm of 400-500 acres in Back River neck, "about six miles from Miller's Island." Hart Island, lying next to Miller's Island, was taken up by George Gouldsmith, July 12, 1659, under the name of "Hooper's Island." (Patent Records for Land [hereafter cited as PRL], Liber 5, f. 407, Land Office, HR.) In the certificate of survey it is described as "a parcell of land on the west side of the Bay makeing the south point of Gunpowder River." The same name, Hooper Island, appears on Augustine Herman's *Map of Maryland* (1670). It later became known as Todd's Island.

[12] *MdHM*, XXV (1930), 325, 326.

land was washed away. Rickett's Point is a late place name. Spry's Island, on the other hand, takes its name from Oliver Spry, who died over two and a half centuries ago. After the cutting away of the land between Rickett's Point and Spry's Island the mouth of the river appeared to be situated between the island and the point.[13] It is not unlikely that the great hurricane of 1893 wreaked considerable damage on this former peninsula and greatly widened a breach which was already there.[14]

The question whether or not Gunpowder River is that Willowby's River, which Captain John Smith named for his friend and patron, Lord Willowby, is of no little interest, because the great explorer and his party explored Willowby's River for a considerable distance in the summer of the year 1608. We know this fact, not from the texts, but from a cross which we find next to Willowby's River on Smith's map of Virginia. Entered on this map is the explanation of these crosses: "To the crosses

[13] "Maxwell's Conclusion," 1623 acres, a resurvey on ancient Spry, Harmer and Maxwell lands, was laid out for Philizana, Mary Elizabeth and Eleanor Maxwell, the daughters of James Maxwell, eldest son of Col. James Maxwell, May 12, 1731 (PRL, Liber E. I. No. 4, f. 187). The plat which accompanies this resurvey (Balt. Co. Certificates) shows the configuration of the shores from Rickett's Point to, and including, Spry's Island, as it formerly was. There is recorded at Bel Air, Md., among the land records of Harford County a deed, bearing date Feb. 10, 1807, whereby Charlotte Waltham conveyed to Samuel Ricketts one third part of "Maxwell's Conclusion," "including a small island known by the name of Spryes Island situate in Harford County." Also recorded at Bel Air is an 1837 deed whereby Samuel Ricketts conveyed to Dr. David King "all that tract of land lying near Chesapeake Bay and the mouth of Gunpowder River or its intersection with the said Bay known as Spyres Island together with a small island in the immediate vicinity of Spryes Island supposed to contain about ¾ of an acre will make 79¾ acres of land with the privilege of a landing on the point known as Ricketts Point or Blind Point." (Harford Co. Land Records, Liber H. D. No. 21). This means that nearly eighty acres have been washed away in the past century. Apparently all the island from Rickett's Point to the present Spryes Island was known by that name. While it has somehow escaped being recorded in seventeenth and eighteenth century land records and elsewhere, the name probably attached itself in the time of Oliver Sprye, the original settler, of that part of Gunpowder Neck, to the peninsula now long since disappeared, which was taken up under the name of "Island Point."

[14] My information about this hurricane comes from Mr. Thomas Francis Cadwalader, who tells me it did great damage at Maxwell's Point and came near destroying the mansion house there. Martinet's *Map of Harford County* (1877), shows a Spry's Island much larger than the present island and coming much nearer to the mainland. The peninsula was taken up, December, 1683, for Mary Stansby, a daughter of Oliver Spry, and called "Island Point" (Calvert Papers No. 883, f. 230). The name must be significant. The plat of "Maxwell's Conclusion," 1731, shows only a narrow strip of land between the river and the Bay, adjacent to what is now Rickett's Point. It seems likely, therefore, that even in 1683, the peninsula, viewed from Chesapeake Bay, looked like an island.

hath been discovered what beyond is by relation." [15] And Captain Smith wrote: "At the farthest points reached going up the rivers we cut in trees as many crosses as we had a mind to cut and, in many places, made holes in the trees wherein we put notes which we wrote and in some places, crosses of brass, to signify to those who might come after us that English men had been there." [16] Unquestionably, it is a choice between Gunpowder River and Bush River. Both have had their advocates. The Hon. Walter W. Preston, in his *History of Harford County* (1901) casts his vote for Bush River. There are two important points which should here be brought out. According to his map, Smith estimated that the source of Willowby's River was a considerable distance above the farthest point which he reached. He must have penetrated to the head of tidewater on one of three freshwater streams: Winters Run, of Bush River, or the Great, or the Little Falls (or both) of Gunpowder River. Not only Smith, but three of his companions, Bagnall, Powell and Todkill (these three sign a single report) describe Willowby's River as "a rocky river." [17] Now, in order to get the impression that one of these two rivers was "rocky," an explorer must have ascended one of these freshwater streams. This stream, at the point where Smith and his party stopped and marked their crosses on trees, must have been so considerable as to give Smith the impression that he was still far from its source, and since the Great Gunpowder was much bigger than the Little Gunpowder and Winters Run put together, I should be inclined to believe that he ascended that river as far as the first cataract or falls and saw that beyond lay a very rocky river, but did not attempt to go farther, unless on foot, since the stream was scarcely navigable beyond the falls even for his small craft. There is a difficulty, however, in accepting this con-

[15] Facsimiles of this map will be found in J. Thomas Scharf's *History of Baltimore City and County* (Phila., 1881) and in Lyon G. Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia*, 1606-1625 (New York, 1907).

[16] John Ashton, ed., *The Adventures and Discourses of Captain John Smith* (New York, [1883?]), p. 147.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 147. Edward Arber, ed., *Capt. John Smith . . . Works* (Birmingham, 1884), p. 423. Bagnall, Powell and Todkill describe Willowby's River as "a rocky river where the Massawomecks went up." Smith, himself, tells how, when near the head of the Bay, and while crossing over from the western to the eastern shore, they "incountered 7. or 8. Canowes-full of Massawomecks." (*Narratives of Early Virginia*, p. 148). The Massawomecks landed (it is not clear on which side of the bay). They must have been observed later going up Willowby's River, which Smith and his party had already explored.

clusion, and it is only fair to consider it. On his map of Virginia, Smith has placed, immediately below the mouth of Willowby's River, an island or islands which he calls " Powels Isles," named, obviously, for Nathaniel Powell, gent., one of his companions. I am convinced that Poole's Island derives its name from, and is identical with, Powels Isles. If this is correct, and if Powels Isles is correctly situated on Smith's map, then it would seem to follow that Willowby's River is Bush River.

Ferries and Fords: Joiner's Point; The Long Calm

In colonial and early republican times there were three ways of getting across, or around, the head of Gunpowder River, which were in use, namely, a ferry and two fords. I have in hand considerable data about Gunpowder ferry. The ferry landing on the east side of the river seems always to have been at Joppa, or the site of Joppa, on the land called " Taylor's Choice." The first notice of Gunpowder ferry is to be found in the Court Proceedings of Baltimore County, November Court, 1683, wherein it is ordered that a ferry be kept over the river " from the house of Thomas Richardson to the house of Mr. James Thompson." [18] The ferry landing on the western side of the river was on the land called " Taylor's Mount," which for more than two hundred years, was the estate of the Taylor-Day family. The landing on the west side of Gunpowder River was usually, it would appear, at the beautiful, never-failing spring, still known as the Ferry Spring, which issues out of the river bank next to the field which is properly called the Ferry Meadow, on " Taylor's Mount " above the old mansion house towards North's Landing. At one time (1720) the Baltimore County court proposed to remove the ferry landing to Joiner's Point, unless certain conditions at the old landing were improved. In the event that this order was carried out, a suitable road out to the point was to be constructed.[19]

[18] Evidence in hand leads me to believe that at this time James Thompson resided on " Taylor's Choice " and Thomas Richardson on " Taylor's Mount," opposite plantations.

[19] In the Baltimore County Court Proceedings (hereafter cited as BCCP), Nov. Court, 1720, it is ordered that " the ferry landing on the south side of Gunpowder *be at joyners Point* & the overseer of the Highways on that side make a good road from thence unto the main road and good bridges and causeways where necessary *unless* Thos Hatchman living at the late ferry landing shall make a good and sufficient causeway to prevent horses mireing going out or coming in to the Ferry

There is still visible on Day's Island a road leading out towards Joiner's Point. This wooded island is a recent affair, having been formed during a violent storm which occurred in the latter half of the past century, at which time the present, very deep thoroughfare was washed through what was formerly a peninsula.[20]

In September, 1683, the Baltimore County court issued an order to the overseers of the highways of Gunpowder River to " make the highways good round the falls of Gunpowder the nearest way, and to be cleared against the next court." [21] It was then, no doubt, that a road was opened to the lowest ford on the Great Falls, which was situated a short distance above the head of tidewater. This ford is mentioned in the survey of a tract of land called " Speedwell," laid out for Enoch Spinkes, June 11, 1688, " lying on the south side of Gunpowder River, beginning at a bounded white oak standing by the first branch [22] of the Great Falls *near the wadeing place.*" [23]

The situation of the old ford has been worked out by the author with the aid of old plats, depositions and deeds.[24] It

boat at low tide then the landing to continue at the old place." Thomas Hatchman, an innholder, owned part of " Taylor's Mount " by virtue of a deed from William Trew. (BCLR, Liber I. S. No. G., f. 383). The former peninsula was taken up by Thomas Richardson, Sept. 4, 1687, and called " Long Point." James Lennox conveyed this land to Stephen Onion by deed, July 2, 1743 (BCLR, Liber T. B. No. C). In this deed the land conveyed is described as situated " on the south side Gunpowder River betwixt the ferry over Gunpowder River and Bird River." Evidently at that time the ferry landing was above Joiner's Point. A plat in MdHS of " Taylor's Mount," made 1770-1774, shows " Joiners Point." The name of the point also appears on a map styled " Map and Profile of the Baltimore and Port Deposit Rail Road," January, 1836, formerly among the Day Papers, and given to the Society by the author. County people said " Giner's Point."

[20] The day after the storm this author's cousin, Mr. Edward Augustus Day, of " Taylor's Mount," (1833-1917) drove a carriage and a team of horses across the new thoroughfare, which was so deep that the horses were obliged to swim. His wife was with Mr. Day on this occasion.

[21] BCCP, 1683.

[22] The first branch of the Great Falls empties into the Falls a little over half a mile below the bridge on the Philadelphia Road (not the Pulaski Highway). It never had a name in my day, but in some deeds of the past century it is called " James's Park Branch." It rises near Upper Falls and flows through the Negro settlement of the Brown family called Brown Town.

[23] PRL, Liber 22, f. 440.

[24] The depositions are interesting. June 12, 1764, John Roberts, alias Campbell, aged 80, Heathcote Pickett, aged 58, and Thomas Richardson, aged 69, deposed that the beginning of " Speedwell " was a white oak tree which stood " at the mouth of the first branch that descends into Great Gunpowder Falls—about fifty or sixty yards to the westward of the lower fording place." (BCLR, Liber B. No. N., f. 455) April 22, 1779: depositions relating to " Spanish Oak Bottom ": John Bond, of Harford County deposed that about thirty years before Stephen Onion

crossed the Falls about an eighth of a mile above the Baltimore and Ohio railroad bridge. Sections of the " old post road " which led across the Great Falls at this ford are, if I am not mistaken, still in use, and are elsewhere traceable.

The ford next above the lower ford before mentioned was called the Long Calm. It was situated less than half a mile above the bridge on the road now (i. e., since the construction of the Pulaski Highway) known as the old Philadelphia Road, beginning just above the mouth of the second large branch which descends into the Great Falls on its eastern side, and extending down stream a hundred yards or more. Some sections of the " old post road " which led across the Fork of Gunpowder from the Little Falls to the Long Calm, were still to be traced in my day, particularly in the lower part of the valley of this " branch," and along the southern boundary of the old Raphel farm. On the western side of the Falls I have traced it nearly all the way to Pensil's Corner at the top of the Forges Hill, on the Philadelphia Road. This old road, part of the main highway from the mouth of the Susquehanna to Baltimore, was laid out by order of Baltimore County court, November, 1692, as follows: " Ordered that Thomas Preston, one of the overseers of highways in Gunpowder River hundred, doe make a good sufficient road thirty feet wide —beginning at the maine road to the upper wadeing place called the Long Calme, . . ." [25]

The Long Calm, in its day was one of the best known fords in Maryland, and is often mentioned in public records.[26] It is a

[the eminent ironmaster who died in 1754] " showed him a spanish oak standing on the north side of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River above the old road that leads across the falls at the lower ford " (BCLR, Liber W. G. N. C., ff. 530, 531). See also the deposition of Henry Hart, Sept. 21, 1782, (*ibid.*, No. N., f. 327). Heathcote Pickett was the unfortunate man who was hanged by the patriots at Joppa Gate during the Revolution because he was a Tory and was accused of working for the enemy.

[25] BCCP. The preposterous theory that the name of the Long Calm was originally " Longchamps " and was conferred by French troops under Rochambeau when they crossed this ford, is obviously without foundation.

[26] To cite a few examples: BCCP, Aug. Court, 1728: " Thomas Giddings [Gittings] is appointed overseer of the roads from the little falls to the long Calm of the Great Falls, and from thence to Nicholas Days, from Thomas Hutchins to the little falls and from Josias Hendons to Luke Stansburys mill." " Onions Second Thought," surveyed for Stephen Onion, Mar. 11, 1744, beginning at the second bounded tree of " James's Park," standing on the east side of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River " opposite to a small run [Cow Branch] that empties into the falls, being the First run on the west side of the said falls below the

broad reach of quiet water, not very deep, almost free of rocks, and with a smooth, even bottom, an ideal fording place and well named.

Bridges Over the Two Falls

A writer in the *Maryland Journal* of August 11, 1789, mentions the fact that the road from Baltimore to Philadelphia passed over "numerous and perilous fords," and that there was only one bridge on this road in Maryland "worthy of observation," namely, the bridge over Swan Creek near Havre de Grace. (Evidently, the massive wooden Philadelphia Road bridge over the Great Falls of Gunpowder had not yet been built, although, provision had been made for it.) It stood for about one hundred and twenty five years, and was in the 1920's replaced by the present concrete structure.

Long Calm." (Field Book of Col. Thomas White, MdHS, deposited by Harford Co. Hist. Soc.). On Sept. 10, 1759, James Crouch conveyed to Jonathan Starkie, of Baltimore County, 100 acres of land, "being part of a tract of land lying in the said county on the main Falls of Gunpowder River at the foarding place commonly called the Long Calme called Cullinburne." (BCLR, Liber B. No. G., 1757-1759). On Oct. 11 following, Starkie or Starkey, sold the whole of "Cullenburne," 200 acres, to Messrs. Alexander Lawson, James Russell, James Wardrope, Walter and John Ewer, "concerned in iron works" (the Nottingham Company). Before a land commission, held in the year 1753 to determine the bounds of a tract of land called "Fryes Plains," which is situated between the Pulaski Highway and the old Philadelphia Road at Pensil's Corner, Major Thomas Franklin deposed that about thirty years since he "was riding from the Long Calm a foarding place of the Great Falls of Gunpowder river and near to the place where the Free School now stands." (BCCP, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, f. 224). The old free school stood on "Fryes Plains"; Asa Barton agreed to keep the ferry over the Long Calm (BCCP, Nov. Court, 1754); John Bank agreed to keep a ferry over the Long Calm, to provide a scow large enough to carry a chair and one horse without unharnessing, in such manner as Col. William Young and Capt. Walter Tolley may direct, and to build a good wharf on either side of the Long Calm (BCCP, Nov. Court, 1759). *Maryland Journal*, Sept. 4, 1781, carries the notice that the Office of Confiscated Estates offers for sale the property of the Nottingham Company, 12,000 acres, 2 forges, 1 furnace and 2 grist mills: "That part of the premises called the Long Calm where the forges stand is in point of situation perhaps equal to any on the continent for water works, the Brandywine not excepted. Besides two mills which are already built eight or more may be erected, and from the same dam and same race be supplied with a great abundance of water in the dryest season." The Nottingham Iron Works were sold to the Ridgelys, and in the *Maryland Journal* June 28, 1785, we find offered for sale a lot of bar iron "at Ridgely's Forge on the Long Calm." (See division of lands of Gen. Charles Ridgely of Hampton, 1829, in BCLR, Liber W. G. No. 191: plat of the Forge Lot, by Alex. Bouldin, showing the forge dam and the disposition of the forges and grist mills, etc., with relation to the Philadelphia Road.) By deed dated Oct. 28, 1845, David Ridgely sold The Forge Lot, including the forges, to Robert Howard. *Maryland Journal*, April 20, 1792: to be sold, at the house of Mrs. Rebecca Young near the Long Calm, Mrs. Young's life interest in "Sewell's Fancy" and "Nanjemoy," containing upwards of 1,000 acres.

A bridge over the Little Gunpowder Falls on the Philadelphia Road was erected at a much earlier date, if we may assume that an order of the court of Baltimore County to that effect was carried out. In the year 1750 the court appointed Messrs. Thomas Franklin, William Young, Nicholas Gay and Talbot Risteau, commissioners, to see to the building of a bridge over the Little Falls at Onion's Forge,[27] i. e., at on near the site of the present bridge. In the course of years there have been several bridges at this place. One of them was washed away in the 1880's under dramatic circumstances.[28]

In the *Maryland Journal* for October 25, 1785, there appeared a notice, emanating, it was said, from " a large number of the inhabitants of Baltimore and Harford Counties," who thereby announced their intention of petitioning the General Assembly for an act " to open and straighten that part of the post road leading from Philadelphia to Baltimore Town vizt from the Bridge at Onion's Mills across the mouth of the Great Falls of Gunpowder until it intersects the aforesaid road near Capt. Skerett's [29] and for building a bridge over the said Great Falls." That section of the Philadelphia Road which it was proposed to straighten and shorten was the one later known, in deeds, as well as in local speech, as " the old post road " or " old Long Calm road." It crossed the Fork of Gunpowder River from the Long Calm ford to Onion's Iron Works, which were at the head of tidewater on the Little Falls. The act to amend the post road and to build the bridge was passed by the Assembly in April,

[27] BCCP, Liber T. R. No. 5, f. 4.

[28] My father was driving to Magnolia one morning in the 1880's to take a train for Baltimore. The Little Falls was in flood as a result of a " cloudburst " which occurred the night before. Arriving at the bridge on the Philadelphia Road he found a man standing there to warn people not to cross it, as it might be carried away any minute. The floor of the bridge was awash. Just then Mr. Frederick Tyson (1828-1901), of Baltimore, came down the hill, driving at a very rapid pace, as he always did. He disregarded the warning and drove across the bridge. No sooner had he reached the Harford County side than the bridge was lifted from its foundations, turned around, and carried down the river.

[29] Capt. Clement Skerett kept a tavern called the Stone House Tavern on the Philadelphia Road (see his advertisement in the *Maryland Journal* Nov. 1, 1785). I think this tavern was at Cowenton or White Marsh. The new road or " cut off " crossed the old road at the place which we used to call Knight's Corner, which is now called Pensil's Corner. From there to the bridge over the B. & O. Railroad, along the western edge of Loreley, was called " the Race Course." It is a section of the old road. The old Free School stood there. The road from this bridge to Cowenton or White Marsh is a part of the old road and is called the Red Lion Road.

[30] *Acts of the Maryland Assembly*, Apr. 1787, Chap. XXIX.

1787. In the *Maryland Journal* of February 19, 1788, the commissioners appointed under the aforesaid act gave notice that "they propose to have a wooden bridge erected over the Great Falls of Gunpowder River at or near Paxton's Saw Mill." The Act provided for a "good and substantial" bridge, at which a gate or turnpike was to be erected for the collection of tolls.

A number of years seems to have elapsed after the passing of this act before the Forges bridge (as it was always called in my time) was built. Dennis Griffith's *Map of the State of Maryland* (1794) shows neither the bridge nor the new road, but shows only the Long Calm road, on either side the Great Falls.[31] However, a 1792 map shows the new road by means of a *single* line.[32] My opinion is that the new road and bridge were then still under construction. At any rate, by 1802 both were certainly finished and in regular use.[33]

In my childhood there was always something mysterious about this old covered bridge and its setting. The hills on either side of the Falls at this place were heavily wooded then, and great forest trees leaned out over the water from the banks. Near the

[31] The identity of the Long Calm road is established by the fact that immediately *below* it, on the west side of the Falls, there is indicated a forge marked "Ridgely's."

[32] Map 287, Portfolio 159 HR. "The Post Road from the Lower ferry on the Susquehanna Laid down agreeable to the courses and distances made by Mr. James Baker for James Webster and John Bouldin, 1792." Also shown thereon is the "road from the Free School to the Long Calm," thence to the Little Falls. I take the single line to mean an unfinished or projected road. On an undated map by Bouldin, styled "a Map of a Road out From Onion's Works to Baltimore Town" the new road is clearly marked; also the old road marked "Long Calm" road and the Long Calm ford (Map No. 289, Portfolio 159 HR).

[33] *The Traveller's Directory*, plate 14, shows two mills on the eastern side, of the Great Falls, adjacent to the bridge, called "Squabble Mills." One of these mills was Paxton's. In 1914 I was informed by Miss Fanny Sollers, aged about eighty, who lived at the covered bridge on the Little Falls between Jerusalem and Jericho, that her mother drove the first wagon over the Forges bridge. Miss Sollers' mother was at one time housekeeper for Harry Dorsey Gough at Perry Hall. Her father lived on the Forges property, then Ridgely's, and worked for the Pattersons at the Joppa Iron Works, near the mouth of the Great Falls. There is recorded among the land records of Baltimore County a deed from Samuel Paxton, of Baltimore County, miller, to Jesse Tyson, conveying part of "Wignall's Rest" and other tracts of land, 77½ acres in all, situated on on near the Great Falls of Gunpowder "together with said Paxton's right to ferry across said river and the ferry boat and privilege of bringing the water of the first run of water falling into the said river on the north side *above the present mill* upon any part of the lands in which he has a right." The date of this deed in Feb. 21, 1803. It proves conclusively that Paxton (or Paxson's) mill was situated *below* the first branch of the Great Falls (sometimes called James's Park Branch), on the site of Patterson's Iron Works. (BCLR, Liber W. G. No. 76, f. 588).

western end of the bridge stood a large, ramshackle building, a tenement house for colored people, that had once been a road-house. Hard by this building were the ruins of one of the old forges. Downstream, near the head of tidewater, on the left bank of the Falls were the impressive remains of the Joppa Iron Works, known locally as the Big Mills. The old Forges bridge had a bad reputation among the neighbors for being haunted.[34]

Navigability of Gunpowder River and the Two "Falls"

It is an accepted fact that seagoing vessels sailed from the port of Joppa, at the head of Gunpowder River. The silting-up of the channel of Gunpowder River and the rivalry of Baltimore are supposed to have caused the decline of this town, which was eventually abandoned. The appearance of mud islands and alluvial land in the area between the Pennsylvania railroad bridge and the head of the river seems to have begun in the past century. By 1836 alluvial deposits had extended the mouth of the Great Falls half a mile, approximately to North's Landing, as well as the mouth of the small creek which in my day was called Crossmore's Slough. Elsewhere in the area above mentioned there was open water.[35] This alluvial peninsula was Day's Fishery, an island which, when taken up in 1770, contained only 4½ acres, but which now contains many times that number.[36] As late as

[34] The late Mr. Edward Reynolds (1854-1927) of "Sherwood," near Upper Falls, Balt. Co., a neighbor and lifelong friend of my family, related to me a curious experience which he had, now many years ago, one night at the Forges bridge. He was, I should say, a country gentleman of parts, not at all superstitious, a total abstainer, absolutely intrepid. He was walking home alone rather late and his way led across the Forges bridge. On drawing near to the western end of the bridge he heard a sound as of a vehicle coming down the hill on the other side of the Falls. He heard next a rumble as of wheels, and a pounding as of horse's hoofs, on the floor of the bridge, but saw nothing. Suddenly the sound ceased. Mr. Reynolds walked onto and across the bridge, expecting to meet a carriage or wagon, but there was no carriage or wagon on the bridge, or anywhere to be seen on the other side. He told me he could not account for this experience.

[35] See *Map and Profile of the Balt and Port-Deposit Rail Road as Located and now under Construction to a point near Havre de Grace*, drawn by H. R. Hazlehurst, January, 1836. My copy of this map came out of the Day papers, and was given by me to MdHS.

[36] Perhaps more than anything else, the history of "Day's Fishery" illustrates the filling in of the head of Gunpowder River. The land was taken up by Edward Day, of "Taylor's Mount," Nov. 21, 1770, and was patented in 1815 to his grandson, John Young Day, the younger (d. 1879). (Land Office Pat. Cert. No. 1358, Balt. Co.). My family inherited it from Mr. Day, a close relation, and held it until 1920. Trustees for my mother's estate lately sold an interest in the property.

1823 the river was navigable for vessels carrying 1,000 to 1,500 bushels of grain up to a landing in the Fork on the old Charmony Hall farm.[37] At the present time mud flats extend far out from shore at this place; and the Great Falls curves around through these flats to Joppa, where it meets the Little Falls. The filling up of the head of the river was blamed on the railroad bridge which was erected in 1836. It was supposed to have acted as a dam, thus causing the deposition of alluvion.[38]

The ancient mouth of the Great Falls of Gunpowder was about half a mile below the Pulaski Highway, a little beyond the lower end of Diver's (or Taylor's) Island, the upper end of which was close to the B. & O. Railroad bridge. There was a point at the mouth of the Falls, and east of it a cove; then came the mouth of the small creek called the Slough. There was also a cove on the west side the mouth of the Falls. Between the Highway and the alluvial land called Day's Fishery, the Great Falls and the Slough, lies Little Neck field, ancient fast land taken up in colonial times.[39] The Pulaski Highway crosses Diver's Island.[40]

Mr. Day ran the place as a commercial fishing shore. Profitable seine fishing went on at the head of Gunpowder River well into the second half of the past century. The late Mr. Edward Reynolds, writing in 1924, declared that his 1500 foot seine often made large hauls of shad, rockfish and herring. In 1924 he remembered the time, some forty years before, when there was a sandy beach at Joppa and six foot of water offshore. (Edward Reynolds, " Joppa Town—now Joppa Farm " (1924), MS, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.)

[37] Joseph R. Ford in the Baltimore *American*, Mar. 26, 1823, advertises for sale " Charmony," 900 acres, described as being situated on the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, " adjoining the extensive manufacturing establishments of Messrs. J. W. & E. Patterson [The Joppa Iron Works] and Gov. Ridgely " [Ridgely's Forges] . . . bounded on one side by the river for ½ mile mavigable to the bank for vessels carrying 1000 to 1500 barrels of grain." I think this means the *river*, not the Falls). The kernel of this old property, which in revolutionary times belonged to John Paul, a Loyalist, was in the possession of John Hammond Dorsey in late colonial times (d. 1774). The Dorsey mansion stood a short distance to the eastwards of the Jones's farm road, overlooking the flats, on the brow of the hill, about ¼ of a mile E. of the Pulaski Highway. Its site was, until recently, marked by a hole in the ground. In my time this farm belonged to the Crossmore family, which sold it in 1917 to the Jones brothers, truckers, from Patapsco Neck.

[38] According to the tradition in my family, our near relation, John Young Day (1803-1879), of " Bellevue," successfully sued the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore railroad company for the damage which the bridge would do to his two fisheries, namely, Day's Fishery and Joiner's Point.

[39] Little Neck Field is composed of " Foxhall " or " Vauxhall," surveyed, 1669, for Richard Whitton, and " Owners' Landing,' taken up in 1735 by Thomas Franklin and Thomas Gittings (this author's ancestor). Crossmore's Slough appears to be an ancient arm of the Great Falls. The old shoreline of Gunpowder River is clearly traceable at the eastern end of Little Neck.

[40] Diver's Island was named for Annanias Divers, who owned the property

The Joppa Iron Works (Patterson's) closed down, according to Scharf, about the beginning of the Civil War. Up to that time he says first class vessels came up the Great Falls to Diver's Island and "the embankments of the wharves are still to be seen." [41] The "vessels" were still traditional in my time; and so were the rockfish which used to be caught in the rapid water below the first falls of the river, above the railroad bridge. Still to be seen even today are the iron rings fastened by bolts to the rocks at the foot of these falls within sight of the ruins of the "Big Mills." This is the spot which Captain John Smith may have seen.

The Little Falls was formerly navigable to the (then) head of tidewater, which was at the rocks immediately below the bridge on the (old) Philadelphia road. Round and about this place were the sites of Onion's Iron Works. Bateau and scows commonly came up the Falls from Joppa to this place in colonial times, and even later.[42]

The Two Deep Holes

The Deep Hole of Gunpowder River lies about three quarters of a mile off Rickett's Point, in the direction of Carroll's Point. The Deep Hole of Bush River lies a little over a quarter of a

between the Little Falls and Charmony Hall, and around Bradshaw, in the Fork. As far as I know, his brick house is still standing. In the time of Col. Benjamin F. Taylor, who followed Benjamin Buck as owner, it was known as "Mount Peru." Scharf gives quite an account of it. It now belongs to Mr. Harry U. Riepe. Benjamin Buck, who married a Divers, was living on this property in 1835 and gave his name to Buck's Gut, once a reedbird hunter's paradise.

[41] Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 925.

[42] In the *Maryland Gazette*, Aug. 17, 1769, Zachaeus Onion offered for sale Onion's Iron Works, consisting of 2 large forges, a furnace, a grist mill, a saw mill, 7 dwelling houses, a chair house (carriage house), &c., "all the above in the circumference of 500 yards." These works are described as situated on the Little Falls of Gunpowder River, "at the Head of navigable water, where the tide Ebbs and Flows Three or Four feet, within three perches of the Furnace Door, which is very commodious, on Account that they may load Boats and Scows at the Work's Doors, and have no Land Carriage. Joppa is but one mile from the said works, where large craft receive any kind of Freight, *to any port*," &c. In the *Maryland Journal*, Jan. 23, 1784, the merchant and saw mill at Onion's Works on the Little Falls of Gunpowder is offered for sale. It is there represented that there is "sufficient water for large batteaux to pass and repass from the door of the mill to Joppa." In the *Maryland Journal*, July 31, 1787, William McComas and John B. Onion offer to let a merchant mill and a saw mill, situated on the Little Falls of Gunpowder River, in Harford County: "Both lie on tide water where a scow may lie at the doors and there take in a load of 200 barrels of flour, scantling and planks, and where she may deliver the load with ¾ of a mile to as large a bay craft as sails from the city of Joppa."

mile off Briery Point, Gunpowder Neck, in the direction of Sutton's Cove (Bar Cove), Bush River Neck. In 1937 the Deep Hole of Gunpowder River was thirty-three feet deep; the Deep Hole of Bush River, forty-four.[43] The latter was dependable as place of last resort for those who went fishing from the Philadelphia Club House (the Philadelphia Gunning Club). It must be close to sixty years since I fished there with my father for the first time. A most experienced fisherman, John Welsh, of the Philadelphia Club House, was our guide, if we could get him. He was a colored man of striking appearance, perhaps with a strain of Indian blood. He was born and raised in Gunpowder Neck. The Deep Hole never failed, but it lacked variety. As far as I know, only white perch were caught there. Occasionally we lost our hooks, on some timbers, supposed to be remains of an old wreck, at the bottom of the Deep Hole.

Jerusalem—Jericho—Joppa

This combination of names has excited not a little curiosity, since its origins have been lost to human memory. The late Mr. Harold Walsh, of "The Mound," Harford County, whose maternal grandfather Lee was the owner of the mill at Jerusalem, was wont to comment on it. Jerusalem is the earliest of the three. There is no reason to suppose that it suggested Joppa, but it did, in all probability, suggest Jericho. Jerusalem is situated on the Little Gunpowder Falls, about three miles above the (old) Philadelphia road. Jericho lies on the Falls, mid-way between Jerusalem and Franklinville. The river bottom below Franklinville, where the road crosses over the Falls from Baltimore to Harford County, is called Egypt. The hill which descends to the Falls down to Egypt is called Vinegar Hill.[44] "Jerusalem," 318 acres, was surveyed for Nicholas Hempstead and John Walley.

[43] U. S. Dept. of Comm. chart of the Chesapeake Bay, Sandy Point to Head of Bay, 1937.

[44] This name has been attributed to the fact that Vinegar Hill is extremely steep: a sour experience in the "horse and buggy days." A local saying ascribed to my grandfather Gittings has it: "Always trust in the Lord, until the breeching breaks, going down Vinegar Hill." There is little doubt in my mind that Vinegar Hill is an imported name. It is a Monmouthshire place name, also the name of a hill in County Wexford, Ireland. Possibly cotton-factory employees at Franklinville named our Vinegar Hill for the place from which they came.

May 25, 1687.[45] It is most unlikely that any settlement was made thereon before 1700. In the course of time the land patent name became a place name, as witness the following notice which is taken from the court proceedings of Baltimore County, November court, 1755: "Thomas Bond Jun [is appointed overseer of the roads] from Jerusalem to the widow Talbots and from Edward Thorpe to Bulls Mill and from the little Falls by John Bonds till it intersects the first mentioned road." [46]

There appears to have been a saw mill at Jerusalem, when, on September 7, 1772, Isaiah Linton, of Baltimore County, miller, sold to David Lee, of the same county, miller, the lands on which Mr. Lee soon afterwards erected his mill, known thereafter as Jerusalem Mills, which is still standing.[47] Mr. Lee (1740-1816) came to Maryland from Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

On December 16, 1774, the same Isaiah Linton gave bond to Elisha Tyson for the conveyance of "*a merchant mill*" and 280 acres of land on the Little Falls of Gunpowder River. From this record we might draw the inference that Jericho Mill was built by Linton, not by Tyson.[48] The old Tyson house still stands on an eminence on the left hand side of the road going from Franklinville to Jerusalem Mills. Elisha Tyson (1750-1824), a native of Pennsylvania, lived in this house for years, but finally removed to Baltimore.[49] The old Jericho mill was down the Falls from the Tyson house, in the meadow where Brown's or Dimmitt's Branch empties into the river. It was standing in my day, and

[45] Calvert Papers No. 883, f. 126.

[46] Balt. Co. Court Minutes, 1755-1763, HR.

[47] BCLR, Liber A. L. No. E, f. 383. The land so conveyed was part of "Jerusalem" and part of "Bond's Water Mills." This deed calls for "the saw mill dam."

[48] BCLR, Liber A. L. No. M., f. 478, 481. The land conveyed was part of "Bond's Water Mills" and part of "James's Forrest." I do not understand, if there was a mill already on this property, what mill it was. On June 28, 1776, Elisha Tyson addressed a letter to the Council of Safety, in which he stated that he was planning to erect a grist mill on the Little Falls of Gunpowder River about three miles above Joppa, and that a dam had already been built and a mill-race dug. He proposed to change his plans and to erect a powder mill, if he could borrow the money which he needed. His proposition was probably turned down. (*Archives of Maryland*, XI, 531-532.)

[49] In the *Maryland Journal*, Feb. 12, 1782, Elisha Tyson, Gay Street (Baltimore), advertised for sale two mills situated on the Little Falls of Gunpowder River, on a tract of land called "Bond's Water Mills." It appears that one of these mills was his own, the other, Gwinn's. Jericho Mill was not sold at this time, but remained for many years in the Tyson family. On Robert Taylor's *Map of the City and County of Baltimore* (1857), we find "N. Tyson, Jerricho" on the Little Falls.

was sometimes used for church fairs. It was connected with the highway by a foot bridge, which was washed away during a violent thunderstorm, not less than sixty years ago.[50]

The merchant mill of William Gwinn stood on the site of Franklinville and was built before 1782.[51] It was destroyed by a flood in 1786,[52] but was rebuilt.[53]

The author has in his possession three family letters, all written in 1844, and addressed to a gentleman farmer, Col. Edward Aquila Howard, at Franklinville, Baltimore County. I have no earlier record of the name of this place, which appears on Sidney and Brown's Map of Baltimore County, 1850.[54]

According to the legend on a plate affixed to the north wall of the cotton factory at Franklinville, these mills were erected in 1826 and rebuilt in 1893.[55] Scharf, writing in 1881, says that the cotton factory was built in 1825; that it was destroyed by fire and Hugh Semmes rebuilt it.[56] I find that on June 5, 1827, Isaac and Nathan Tyson sold to Dean Walker the land on which the factory was (subsequently?) built. Walker sold part of his interest to Messrs. Shaw and Tiffany in 1828, which included " factories, water rights and other privileges, particularly the privilege of raising and backing by dams or otherwise the water of the said river called the Little Falls of Gunpowder." The company was known as

[50] It was the night of the annual fair of St. John's Church, Kingsville, about 1892. My family had a booth at this fair, and I was there. Fortunately for us, we got home before the storm broke; otherwise we should have been isolated in the mill by the raging waters.

[51] See William Gwinn's advertisement in the *Maryland Journal*, Mar. 12, 1782.

[52] *Maryland Journal*, Oct. 10, 1786.

[53] Griffith's *Map of Maryland* (1794) shows Lee's, Tyson's and Gwinn's mills on the Little Gunpowder Falls. A Particular Tax List of Baltimore County, 1794, (MdHS) gives the following information: William Gwynn, George Bond, occupant, 1 tract of land and improvements, including 1 mill of stone, 38 x 28 feet, " Much out of Repair and laying useless. Adjoining Jesse Tyson and the little fawls."

[54] There was a forge called Franklin Forges which I have been unable to identify On Dec. 17, 1787, John Weston, aged 45 years, testifying in the suit of Josias Pennington against Benjamin Griffith, deposed that he had known both parties 17 or 18 years, during part of which time the plaintiff had resided " at a place of his own near Franklin Forges." The plaintiff was the great-grandfather of the late Josias Pennington, the Baltimore architect. John Weston was proprietor of the Kingsbury Furnace in Baltimore County. He married Rebecca (Young) Day, the widow of Edward Day, Esq., of " Taylor's Mount," and died at his seat " Orkney " Harford County, in 1812 (Chancery Proc., Liber 30, f. 19, HR).

[55] The author has not read this " inscription " for years. For a copy, see John Blatter Mahool, Jr., *The Mahool Family of Baltimore and its Branches* (1955), p. 18. Mr. Mahool gives an interesting history of Franklinville.

[56] Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 924.

the Baltimore Manufacturing Company. In 1839 James Mahool, formerly of Baltimore, was taken into partnership.[57]

Robert Taylor's *Map of the City and County of Baltimore* (1857) shows the Franklinville Iron Works, Messrs. Ferguson and Abbott, proprietors. These works were situated at the lower end of Franklinville, on the Falls, at the place which we, the natives, call Egypt. Scharf tells us that Whitaker's Furnace was erected at this place about 1810 as a spade factory, and that Mr. Horace Abbott purchased these works and converted them into a forge for the making of shafts for steam vessels.[58] Shafts for the Russian Navy were made there, because no other place of the kind could undertake the job, and they were got out with ox teams, with great difficulty.[59] Mr. Abbott, a native of Massachusetts, and John J. Ferguson acquired the land on which the Franklinville Iron Works were built in 1847.[60] Very few traces of these works remain today.

The author has never made a serious study of old Joppa Town, now Joppa farm. Some very competent historians and antiquaries have treated of the subject, and their articles on Joppa are available. All that this author has to offer are a few more or less unrelated, disconnected items, which he has not observed in any of the articles about Joppa which he has read.[61] They are as follows:

[57] BCLR, Liber W. G. No. 188, f. 372; Liber W. G. No. 277, f. 384. Act of Incorporation in *Laws of Maryland*, Dec. Sess., 1839. The land conveyed as stated above was part of "Groome's Chance" and part of "Bond's Water Mills Resurveyed," which last was patented to Israel Morris and William Gwynn, May 23, 1786. It lies partly in Baltimore County, partly in Harford County.

[58] Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 925.

[59] For this information I am indebted to Mr. John Gilman D'Arcy Paul, whose maternal grandfather, the late John Stratton Gilman, eminent banker and industrialist, and a native of Hollowell, Maine, was at one time a member of this firm.

[60] BCLR, Liber A. W. B. No. 412, f. 69. The land therein conveyed is part of "Bond's Water Mills." The parties of the first part were the executors of the will of Samuel Keyser of Baltimore. Mr. Keyser acquired an interest in the property in 1825. I was unable to trace the title to any one named Whitaker. Scharf says that Frank Whitaker was one of the later owners. William Gwinn (Gwynn) sold it to John James in 1798, who, in 1811, sold it to Upton Reid and Rees Davis (BCLR, Liber W. G. No. 175, f. 34). In 1825 Upton Reid, with David Keyser and Jacob Crawford, mortgaged the property to Samuel Keyser and Christian A. Schaeffer (*ibid.*). I believe Scharf is correct in saying there were iron works there years before the time of Messrs. Abbott and Ferguson. On an old plat in my possession, drawn in 1818, the present Franklinville road is described as a "road leading from the old Joppa Road *to the Tilt-mill road.*"

[61] Scharf's account of Joppa, in his *History of Baltimore City and County*, pp. 923, 924; Gerald Griffin's "A Lost Town of Early Maryland," Baltimore *Sun*, Nov. 21,

In the beginning Joppa was known also as Gunpowder Town.[62] The late Edward Reynolds, the best antiquary of that neighborhood, records the tradition that there was a shipyard at Joppa at which vessels were built during the Revolutionary war. This tradition, while not confirmed, finds some support in the fact that Captain John Sewell (d. 1805) was taxed in 1783 on a "Joppa-lott & ship yard."[63] In 1747 the Maryland Assembly passed an act authorizing public tobacco inspection warehouses at various convenient places in Baltimore County, including one "to be kept at Joppa, at the Ferry Landing, near the Point House on Gunpowder River."[64] In 1773 a public warehouse for inspection of tobacco was authorized to be kept at the same place.[65] Cultivation of tobacco in Baltimore and Harford Counties was then already nearing its end. A deed from John Hall to James Christie and John Boyd, dated October 11, 1762, calls for "all that parcell or lot of land situate on Gunpowder River between the same river and the said towne of Joppa near the Inspection house and the store house of David McCulloh in the same

1941; Edward Reynolds' "Joppa Town—now Joppa Farm" and Messrs. Albrecht, Shelley and Trautman's "A Lost Town of Maryland" in Maryland Room, EPFL.

[62] BCCP, Liber I. S. No. B., f. 42, June Court, 1709: the court orders a prison to be built "*in Gunpowder Town alias Joppa.*"

[63] Tax-List of Gunpowder Upper and Lower Hundreds, Harford Co., 1783, Scharf Papers, MdHS. Sewell's was the only ship-yard listed. Captain John Sewall was a vestryman of St. John's Parish. If I am not mistaken, he was the son of James and Mary (Harrison?) Sewell, of Calvert County, and was born Nov. 21, 1741. He married, March 5, 1780, (family record) Elizabeth Young, sister of Rebecca Young (Later Mrs. Weston), second wife of Edward Day of "Taylor's Mount." They were the nieces of Colonel William Young (1711-1772) of "Nanjemoy," Baltimore County, who is mentioned in this article. On June 6, 1777, the Council of Safety addressed a letter to Benjamin Rumsey, Esq., of Joppa, concerning certain war vessels called "row gallies," one of which was laid up at Joppa. The Council deplored the fact that it was unable to get either cordage or hands for these vessels, and advised Mr. Rumsey to see to it that upper works of the one at Joppa be kept wet. (*Archives*, XVI, 279-80.) This ship may have been built at Joppa, at Sewell's shipyard.

[64] *Ibid.*, XLIV, 609. At one time there were two tobacco inspection houses on the head of Gunpowder River, not more than a mile apart, one at Joppa and the other at the Fork of the river. In 1757 the court of Baltimore County appointed Walter Tolley and Robert Adair, gent., to try the weights at the Joppa and the Fork Inspection Warehouses. (BCCP, June Court, 1757, f. 39.) In 1759 Col. William Young was appointed overseer of the roads "from the Long Calm to Mr. Dean's Run [Broad Run] from thence to Onion's Iron Works, from thence to the Long Calm & from the Fork Ware House till it intersects the Forrest Road above Mr. Bordley's" (BCCP, Nov. Court, 1759). In 1766 the Assembly abolished the Fork Inspection House (*Archives*, LXI, 244).

[65] *Archives*, LXIV, 159.

town." [66] Evidently the inspection house stood at the ferry landing. On August 31, 1770, John Hall and wife conveyed to Benjamin Rumsey of Cecil County (his brother-in-law) and wife some 462 acres adjacent to the town of Joppa, beginning for one parcel "at a bounded double white wood tree [blue beech?] at Gunpowder Ferry landing on the North Shore and on the Point making the mouth of the north branch of Gunpowder River." [67] In my opinion the ferry landing on the north side of the river was always at that place, the "stony bar" of the old records. On December 14, 1771, the Justices of Baltimore County conveyed the prison in Joppa to John Beale Howard, to whom John Byrd, the original purchaser had assigned it.[68] The same year Corbin Lee sold Mr. Howard one quarter of an acre, part of a tract of land called "Westminister," situated adjacent to the town of Joppa, on Temple Street.[69] This record establishes the fact that a street had been laid out outside of the town. A deed from John Hall to Corbin Lee, October 11, 1763, conveys a piece of land on Gunpowder River, on the south side of the town of Joppa.[70]

[66] RCLR, Liber B. No. D, f. 349.

[67] BCLR, Liber A. L. No. B., f. 525. Virtually the same words describe the beginning of "Westminister," a resurvey on part of "Taylor's Choice," made for Hannah Johns, Nov. 13, 1734. They fix the site of the ferry landing as of that year where it was many years later (Rumsey Papers as copied by Dr. George W. Archer, Harford Co. Hist. Soc. Papers at MdHS). This survey is recorded at the Land Office.

[68] BCLR, Liber A. L. No. D., f. 174.

[69] BCLR, Liber A. L. No. C., f. 742. Col. John Beale Howard (d. 1799) purchased in 1771, the land on which he built the country house, since 1845, Reynold's, still standing, near Upper Falls, called "Sherwood," or "Sherwood Forest." According to tradition the timbers of this house (as to which there is said to be visible evidence that they were once used for another building), came from Joppa. Col. Howard married Blanche, daughter of Parker Hall, and they were the parents of Col. John Beale Howard, Jr., of "Sherwood" (1770-1835). The latter was probably born at Joppa. Among the Rumsey Papers I find the following record, which is interesting in the present connection: Samuel Paxson, trustee under a decree (of Chancery?), 4 Sept., 1792, sold to John McGowan, a lot in the town of Joppa as Corbin Lee's Half Lot, formerly belonging to John Beale Howard, "beginning at the end of the N. 83 and 3.4 degrees West line of the Lot by John Hall & Hannah his wife sold to a certain Beale Bordley." In this deed mention is made of a street 40 feet wide called Pitt Street "leading all along the binding on the S. side of the Towne of Joppa by a straight line from the Inspection House to the street or way opened by sd John Hall and Hannah his wife lying along the east side of Bordley's aforesaid continued in a straight line from the River to the Court House Ground for the width of 30 ft called Temple Street with the use of sd street as per deed from Corbin Lee & wife to John B. Howard bearing date 4 Sept., 1771." The original copy was made by Judge Benjamin Rumsey (d. 1808.)

[70] BCLR, Liber B. No. L., f. 56.

This deed calls for two streets, Temple Street, and Pitt Street. The historians whom I have consulted do not mention these streets. The old court-house in Joppa, and the land whereon it stood, was sold to Benjamin Rumsey by Thomas Franklin and others, commissioners, in 1773.[71] Scharf, writing in 1881, says that at the time of writing, when Mr. James Murray, a Scotsman of good family, owned Joppa farm and lived there, there were to be seen " in his orchard . . . the cellars and foundations of the ancient court house." [72] This remark, applicable to the year 1881, apparently disposes of the theory that the Rumsey mansion, which is still standing, is none other than the court house. According to local tradition, Judge Rumsey caused a number of old warehouses at Joppa to be demolished, because they had become the resort of low characters. There is in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society an old plat or map, showing the head of Gunpowder River, whereon are inscribed the likenesses of several houses or mansions, namely the Day house on " Taylor's Mount," " Capt. Tolley's," " Captain Dorsey's," and " Benjamin Rumsey's Esq." On the river, off Joppa, are seen under sail a brigantine and a sloop.[73] This map is not dated; but there is internal evidence that it is no earlier than 1770, and no later than 1774.[74]

Poole's Island

It is this author's opinion that Poole's Island was named by Captain John Smith and that it bears the name of one of the men who accompanied him on voyage to the head of Chesapeake Bay, in 1608—Nathaniel Powell.[75] On the map on which this voyage is illustrated, published in 1612, we find " Powels Iles " [76] near

[71] BCLR, Liber A. L. No. H., f. 385, 386.

[72] Scharf, *op. cit.*

[73] For the identification of these vessels I am indebted to Mr. Richard Harding Randall.

[74] This map was presented to the MdHS by the late Miss Mary Forman Day, who died in 1950, in her ninetieth year. Miss Day was the last Day owner of " Taylor's Mount," which was sold in 1917, at which time it contained between four and five hundred acres.

[75] This was the opinion of the Hon. Walter W. Preston, *History of Harford County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1901), p. 14. Powell was a member of the Council of Virginia and died in the Indian massacre (*Narratives of Early Virginia, op. cit.*, p. 360).

[76] I am at a loss to account for the plural. Although divided by a marsh, Pooles Island never looked to me like two islands.

the western shore of the Bay and at the mouth of Willoughby River. In Great Britain Powell is pronounced *pōle*.[77] If I am right, then Poole's Island is probably the oldest extant place name of British origin in Maryland excepting Watkins Point.

Poole's Island is mentioned in the journal of Cyprian Thorowgood, an Indian trader, who made a voyage to the head of the Bay, April 25 to May 15, 1634.[78] In his *Journal of the Dutch Embassy to Maryland*, Augustine Herman, under date of October 3, 1659, makes a casual mention of Poole's Island.[79] "Pools Island," 200 acres, was taken up by Capt. Robert Morris, July 27, 1659.[80] On March 14, 1706, John Morris, of London, merchant, brother and heir-at-law of Robert Morris, deceased, who was the eldest son of Robert Morris of London, mariner, sold the island to John Carvile of the Province of Maryland, merchant,[81] in whose family it remained for many years. The Maryland Assembly on June 5, 1668, appointed Poole's Island as a place for the unloading of goods.[82] On September 6, 1771, John Carvile of Kent County sold Poole's Island to John Beale Bordley, the well-known agriculturist.[83] The island then contained, by resurvey, 255 acres. In the Baltimore *American* of December 15, 1808, Poole's Island, late the property of William Middleton, deceased, was offered for sale.[84]

Writing in 1801 in his *Essay and Notes on Husbandry and Rural Affairs*, John Beale Bordley has quite a little to say about Poole's Island.[85] The island was divided into two fields. Tobacco had been cultivated there until about 1771. Indian corn had been

[76] For confirmation of this fact I addressed a letter of inquiry to the Right Reverend Noble C. Powell, and am indebted to Bishop Powell for the following answer: "It is my understanding that Powell, in the old country and especially in Wales, is pronounced as though it were spelled Pole."

[78] A Relation of a Voyage made by Cyprian Thorowgood to the head of the Bay of Chesapeake, 1634. MS, EPFL.

[79] Clayton Coleman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 317. Judge Thomas Jones of Patapsco Neck, in his journal, March, 1782, remarks that two British ships had come up the Bay to Pooles Island.

[80] Calvert Papers 883, f. 124.

[81] BCLR, Liber T. K. No. A., f. 170.

[82] *Archives*, V, 31.

[83] Balt. Co. Rent Roll, Vol. 1, HR. Pooles Island, 255 acres, lying near the mouth of Gunpowder River. Resurveyed 31 Dec., 1734, for John Carvill of Kent County. John Beale Bordley from John Carvill, Sept. 6, 1771.

[84] Mr. Bordley says of Mr. Middleton that he was an excellent farmer, bred to the sea (Bordley, *Husbandry*, 1801, p. 58.)

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

cultivated there from time immemorial. Wheat was introduced about 1751. The island was extremely fertile, and wheat and corn lands were never manured. Mr. Bordley believed that at the time of writing it had been under cultivation for one hundred and twenty years. In the past century Poole's Island was known for its peach orchards. In 1937 the author walked around the island, looking for Indian shell-heaps. None of any importance was found.

According to information supplied by the National Archives, the lighthouse on Poole's Island, Maryland, was established in 1825. In 1917 the lighthouse personnel were removed and the light continued unattended until 1939, when it was turned over to the War Department.[86]

(*To be continued*)

[86] Letter, June 4, 1957, to author from A. E. Carlson, Commander, USCG, Asst. Chief, Public Information Division.

ROGER BROOKE TANEY'S ACCOUNT OF HIS RELATIONS WITH THOMAS ELLICOTT IN THE BANK WAR

Edited by STUART BRUCHEY

TO the general student the name of Roger Brooke Taney is usually associated with the notorious Dred Scott decision which Taney, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, handed down in 1857. He is less well known for his important role in the classic struggle between Jackson and Biddle over the fate of the Second Bank of the United States. As Attorney General, a position to which Jackson had named him in 1831, Taney was the only cabinet member to advocate a flat presidential veto of the recharter bill.[2] Taking his stand on grounds of both constitutionality and expediency, Taney proceeded to compose the legal and perhaps also to revise the political part of the Veto Message.[3] He then suggested that the President withdraw the public monies from the Bank of the United States and use state institutions as depositories for federal funds.[4] These state institutions were the so-called " pet banks " (Taney refers to them in the accompanying manuscript as " Deposite Banks "). When the incumbent Secretary of the Treasury refused to comply with the Presidential directive to remove the deposits he was discharged and Taney chosen in his place.[5]

[1] For assistance in preparing this manuscript for publication I wish to thank Prof. Carl B. Swisher of the Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Elizabeth Merritt of the Maryland Historical Society, and my wife, Eleanor Stephens Bruchey.

Taney's draft contains dozens of deletions, but most of them are illegible. Those deleted parts which could be read and seemed worthy of inclusion have been italicized and placed within angle brackets. Minor changes have been made in the text where there has been an obvious slip of the pen, such as the omission of punctuation at the end of a sentence, or writing the same word twice, *and and*, for example.

[2] Carl B. Swisher, *Roger B. Taney* (New York, 1935), pp. 191, 193-194.

[3] Fritz Redlich, *The Molding of American Banking, Men and Ideas*, Part I (New York, 1951), p. 174.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[5] Swisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-234.

That was in September, 1833. Some ten years before, a friendship had begun between Taney and a Baltimore banker named Thomas Ellicott, a friendship which ripened, to use Taney's own expression, to terms of " intimacy." Scholars have long known that Ellicott exerted an important influence in the development of Taney's antipathy towards the Bank of the United States, and that it was he who suggested the pet bank scheme [6] which Taney in turn relayed to Jackson. The accompanying manuscript, composed by Taney in 1839,[7] not only confirms these facts while clarifying the probable motives behind Ellicott's suggestion; it also sheds new light on the nature of the relationship between the two men.

For reasons which the document makes clear, their cordial relationship dissolved in the heat of the Bank War. One of the chief fears of the bankers who supported the plan to establish pet banks had been that Biddle, President of the Bank of the United States, might succeed in destroying the new depositories by ordering the various Branch Banks to refuse, in their settlements of balances with the pet banks, any United States Bank notes except those payable at the particular Branch involved in the settling. This refusal would result in large debit balances which the pet banks could then only discharge in the form of specie. To protect the specie holdings of the new depositories Taney therefore yielded to the suggestion that key pet banks be armed with drafts on the government funds in the Bank of the United States. The use of these so-called " transfer drafts " was to be contingent upon need—upon circumstances of pressure generated by Biddle. Since the Union Bank of Maryland, of which Ellicott was president, had been selected (by Jackson himself) as the new government depository in Baltimore, Taney responded to evidence that Biddle would probably exert pressure in that center by placing transfer drafts in Ellicott's hands. Ellicott in indecent haste indorsed the drafts to the order of the Bank of Maryland, a separate institution in which he had private speculative interests.[8] Despite this and later transfusions, the Bank of

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 92; Redlich, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[7] On a small piece of paper found with the manuscript Taney has written:
" 1839
Remarks on Mr. Ellicotts *pam*phlet.—"

[8] These statements are based upon the manuscript itself, except that, in deference

Maryland failed in March, 1834, bringing litigation, accusation and counter-accusation in its train.[9]

Some five years after these events Ellicott published a pamphlet in which he purported to reproduce certain letters exchanged between him and Taney during the fall of 1833. They appeared to show that Taney had been well aware that the Bank of Maryland was in jeopardy, and indeed had issued the transfer drafts to Ellicott for the specific purpose of supporting that institution. Charging that the pamphlet falsified the correspondence, Taney was yet unwilling to demean his "high judicial status" by engaging in public controversy. But he was jealous of his good name in the eyes of posterity. Because he feared a renewal of Ellicott's attack when he could "no longer confront him" Taney drew up the following narrative. He wrote that he intended to leave it "in the hands of my family, that they may be able to do justice to my character, in case it should be assailed by Mr. Ellicott after my death." The document is from the Perine Papers in the Maryland Historical Society, a collection which contains a number of letters to and from David M. Perine, a highly-regarded nineteenth-century Register of Wills for Baltimore County. Perine and Taney were close friends.[10] It is because of this fact that Taney may have changed his original intent with respect to his manuscript and left it in the hands of Perine.

While I held the office of Secretary of the Treasury in 1833 and 1834, many private and confidential letters passed between Thomas Ellicott formerly President of the Union Bank of Maryland and myself. Mr. Ellicott has recently published a pamphlet [11] in relation to the affaires of the Bank of Maryland which failed in March 1834; and in this pamphlet among other letters from me, he gives one dated October 11, 1833, which he says was an answer to a letter from him of the 8th of the same month.

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to such modern accounts of the Bank War as Redlich's, I have substituted the name of Biddle for "U. S. Bank."

[9] A. C. Bryan, *History of State Banking in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1899), pp. 91-93.

[10] Charles Howard to D. M. Perine, Baltimore, Oct. 14, 1864 in Oliver Papers, MdHS. In reference to Taney's funeral Howard wrote: "The Family of Taney gave me the names of some 3 or 4 old and warmly attached friends, whom they wish to have an opportunity to accompany the remains.—Your's of course was prominent among [them]." After the death of the Chief Justice, Perine and J. M. Campbell took charge of Taney's estate (Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 579).

[11] Thomas C. Ellicott, *Bank of Maryland Conspiracy, as Developed in the Report to the Creditors by Thomas Ellicott Trustee of said Bank* (Philadelphia, 1839). A copy of this pamphlet is in the Peabody Institute Library of Baltimore.

This Statement of Mr. Ellicott is not true. His letter of the 8th was answered by me in one of the 10th which Mr. Ellicott has suppressed; and of which I have a copy. My letter of the 11th was an answer to one from him of the 10th. It is not in my power to say positively whether my letter of the 11th is truly given in the pamphlet; for although I kept a copy of it at the time, it has unfortunately been mislaid. My impression is that the letter is not fully given, and that some parts of it have been omitted. In his however I may be mistaken, and after the lapse of so many years, my memory may not be entirely accurate. But I can have no confidence in the correctness of any copy given by Mr. Ellicott, when I find him capable of resorting to the disingenuous artifice of suppressing my letter to him of the 10th & representing my letter of the 11th as the answer to his of the 8th.

The object of this misrepresentation is obvious enough. It is intended to impeach my veracity, & to shew that the statement made by me in my letter to Mr. Johnson [12] of July 25, 1834, was not true. In that letter I said that when Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine [13] visited Washington in October 1833, neither of them suggested that the Bank of Maryland [14] needed or desired a loan; that they did not ask for my aid to support it; and that from the conversation they held with me " I supposed that the Bank of Maryland so far from requiring any aid for itself was in a condition to support other institutions if it should become necessary to do so.[15] This letter is published in Mr. Ellicotts pamphlet, and if my letter of the 11th is truly given, and if it had been as he represents it the answer to his of the 8th it would appear to contradict the statement in my letter to Mr. Johnson, and to shew that he and Mr. Perine must have informed me of the embarrassment of the Bank of Maryland and of its speculations in stock. Mr. Ellicott it is true does not in direct terms charge upon me this contradiction; but it is insinuated too plainly to escape the attention of the most careless reader; and the letter of the 11th is *underscored* and

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[12] Reverdy Johnson (1796-1876). Lawyer and diplomat, Johnson occupied a number of important public posts. Elected to the state senate from Baltimore in 1821 and again in 1826, he rose to the U. S. Senate in 1845. He became Attorney-General under President Taylor in 1849, and was appointed Minister to Great Britain in 1868. The Taney manuscript later makes clear that Johnson was counsel for the Union Bank of Maryland in the fall of 1833.

[13] David Maulden Perine (1796-1882). Perine was Register of Wills for Baltimore County from 1825 to 1851. A man of unusually high ethical standards, his services as an administrator of estates were utilized in connection with the estates of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Robert Oliver, and George Brown. The Taney manuscript identifies him as a Director of the Union Bank of Maryland in the fall of 1833.

[14] The Bank of Maryland (Evan Poultney, President) should be carefully distinguished from the Union Bank of Maryland (Thomas Ellicott, President).

[15] A copy of this letter is reproduced on pp. 41-42 of " Correspondence relating to Affairs of the Bank of Maryland," printed with [Reverdy Johnson's] " Reply to a Pamphlet [by Evan Poultney] entitled ' A Brief Exposition of Matters Relating to the Bank of Maryand ' with an Examination into some of the Causes of the Bankruptcy of that Institution " (Baltimore, 1834).

commented on for the purpose of attracting particular attention to those parts of it which relate to the Bank of Maryland and to stock speculations, in order to shew that I must have derived my information on those subjects from Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine. If my information upon these subjects had been derived from them, it would be very clear that the statement abovementioned in my letter to Mr. Johnson would be incorrect—and I should be justly subject to the imputation of having wilfully departed from the truth; for the most charitable would hardly be able to persuade themselves that in a matter of so much importance, there could be any mistake in memory when only a few months had elapsed after the conversation referred to.

My correspondence with Mr. Ellicott when fairly given will be found to agree entirely with my statement in the letter to Mr. Johnson; and will prove beyond question its truth. For my letter of the 10th which was in reply to his of the 8th will shew that when I gave the drafts in favour of the Union Bank, which Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine, carried to Mr. Ellicott, I had no suspicion that the Bank of Maryland was in difficulties—and had no knowledge whatever of its stock speculations; It will also shew that Mr. Ellicott after having transferred these two drafts to the Bank of Maryland, came to Washington to see me on the evening of the day on which he made the transfer; and that he himself in that interview first informed me of the speculations & embarrassments of the Bank of Maryland. The difficulties of that Bank were stated & urged by him as his justification, for having used these drafts.

Before I left the Treasury Department I was satisfied that Mr. Ellicott was unworthy of the confidence I had reposed in him; and at the election of Directors of the Union Bank of Maryland which took place in July 1834, I united with the majority of the stockholders in electing a Board of Directors opposed to his reelection as President of the Bank. I have been always since fully sensible of the deep resentment which Mr. Ellicott has borne towards me; and that he imputed the loss of his election mainly to the part taken by me. My long intimacy with him was well known, & also the firm and active support which I had given him on former occasions when strong efforts had been made to remove him from his office; and the vote which I gave at this election, shewed that with the best opportunities of knowing him, he had lost my confidence, and the confidence of the Department over which I had presided. Feeling as he did most deeply his defeat, I should not have been surprised if in the excitement of the moment he had published my confidential letters. Such conduct indeed, on his part would have been sufficiently dishonorable; but I had seen enough to satisfy me that I had greatly mistaken his character, and that I had committed a gross error in supposing him worthy of my friendship. There was nothing I knew in my private letters that could tarnish my honor. Yet in times of high excitement, many things are said in confidential correspondence, which one is unwilling to see given to the public, especially while the public mind is still heated and agitated on the same subjects, & while political enemies and rivals are prepared to

seize upon & distort to the injury of an opponent, every loose and careless expression written in a moment of excitement or anxiety & forgotten perhaps in an hour afterwards. There are expressions I doubt not in my private letters to Mr. Ellicott which it would not be pleasant for me to see in print; and for some time after his defeat in the Union Bank I thought it very likely that he would throw my confidential letters before the public, merely because he supposed it would give me pain.

But he did not publish at that time, although he often as I heard threatened to do so—and these threats were always made so as to give them the best chance of reaching me. And as five years had gone by, without a publication I took for granted that as no money was now to be got by it the scheme was abandoned. But I find I have been again mistaken in his character; and that he is capable of deeper and more enduring feelings of revenge, than I had supposed belonged to him, and is utterly unscrupulous in the means to be employed. After five years of reflection, he has endeavored to impeach my veracity & has wilfully & deliberately falsified my private correspondence with him in order to effect his object. It is manifest that he has ventured upon this misrepresentation under the belief that I have no copy of my letter of the 10th and that I have not preserved his letters to me. The mature deliberation with which this fraud has been perpetrated, & the hardihood which could venture upon it while any hand writing may be successfully imitated & Mr. Ellicott knows where survive me his bad feelings & principles would lead him to rejoice in the opportunity of defaming my memory without the danger of detection; and that other parts of my correspondence would be mutilated, and letters fabricated to accomplish his object. In this age of improved penmanship any hand writing may be successfully initiated & Mr. Ellicott knows where to seek for such aid. I cannot think of entering upon a controversy with him in the news-papers, in my life time—for it would be most unbecoming in one filling the high judicial station which I have the honor to hold. But I am unwilling to leave my character in the power of such a man, and his recent publication shews how easy it is to give a plausible appearance to falsehood, by mixing up some portion of truth with it. My correspondence with Mr. Ellicott extended through a period of several months;—my letters were often written under the influence of high excitement or in moments of painful anxiety—and always in haste and under the pressure of many engagements & in the carelessness of entire confidence; and I have now reason to apprehend that in every material part of that correspondence, the same fraudulent practices may be resorted to, which have been so freely & boldly used in the pamphlet. I must therefore endeavor to guard myself against the plans which this evil spirit may even now be concocting, and may bring forward when I can no longer confront him. And I propose to draw up a general view of the correspondence between him and myself connecting it with the conversations which occasionally took place between us, & to which his letters as well as mine often allude. This narrative I shall leave in the hands of my family, that they may be able to do justice to my character, in case it should be assailed by Mr. Ellicott after my death.

I must however preface this narrative by a brief statement, in order to shew what gave rise to this confidential correspondence between us, and why I am able to give copies of but few of my own letters.

When I received the appointment of attorney General of the United States I was residing in Baltimore, and had been living there eight years, actively engaged in the practice of the Law. During all that time I was the retained counsel for the Union Bank of Maryland of which Mr. Ellicott was President. He had been brought in in 1819 by the stockholders upon the discovery of the frauds perpetrated in that Bank. His administration of its affairs was generally understood when I became a resident of Baltimore to have been upright and vigorous. One fourth of its capital had been lost by the defalcations & misconduct of its former officers. Yet under his management its credit had been re-established & he was still actively engaged in endeavouring to recover large sums of money in property withdrawn from the Bank. I met him therefore with impressions strongly in his favour. My situation as counsel for the Institution brought us together, & his conduct & conversations won my entire confidence and respect. He appeared in all of my intercourse with him to be an honest man; faithful and conscientious in the discharge of his duties; a man of much talent, and possessing extensive information upon the subject of banking both in its principles & details. There were indeed many others who had known him longer than I had, who entertained a very different opinion of him; and some of them who were my personal friends warned me to be on my guard, & represented him as a hollow, deceitful & selfish man whose moral principles were not sound. But I thought they were mistaken & told them so. He was I knew sometimes harsh & rough in his manner, & the rigor with which he pressed the collection of the claims of the Union Bank had necessarily produced unpleasant collisions with securities and indorsers as well as debtors; and I imputed the opinions of the friends who spoke to me to statements made in moments of excitement by persons whom he had offended by his manner; or towards whom in his zeal for the interest of the Bank he might in some instances have appeared to act with hars[h]ness. During my residence in Baltimore and before I was appointed Atty-Genl. of the U. S. an effort was made to remove him from his office—headed by some gentlemen of the highest respectability, and who by the bye were among my intimate friends. The struggle was a severe one & upon that occasion I actively and earnestly supported his re election & perhaps as much as any other person contributed to maintain him in his place. Such was my confidence in him that I invested the savings from my profession altogether in that Bank—& advised my near family connections to do the same. And when in July 1831 I accepted the office of Attorney General of the U. States & went to reside in Washington I did not leave behind me any one in whose frankness, integrity & personal friendship I placed more confidence—nor any one in whose skill & information in the business of Banking I placed so much; nor any one more warm in professions of friendship & gratitude for services rendered in his difficulties.

We had often conversed about the Bank of the U. States—its oppressive measures & its dangerous power. He as well as myself was decidedly opposed to the renewal of its charter—and he often ap[p]rised me that by a proper selection of State Banks arrangements could be made between them by which all the benefits and conveniences which the government or the community desired from a U. States Bank could be realized;—

It is well known that I as one of General Jacksons Cabinet advised the removal of the deposites;—and while that question was pending I often, with the Presidents permission, conferred with Mr. Ellicott as to the most advisable arrangement to be instituted in the place of a national Bank. I do not now propose to enter upon the justification of that measure. This narrative is not prepared for that purpose. Its only object is to guard against a fraudulent misrepresentation of my correspondence with Mr. Ellicott—It is unnecessary therefore to state the various topics which were discussed at these interviews & the opinions expressed by him or myself. But it may not however be out of place to say, that looking to the time when that subject was under consideration, & testing the wisdom of the removal of the Deposites, by what has since followed, I see nothing in my conduct or opinions that I would now wish had been otherwise; except only the undoubting confidence which I reposed in Mr. Ellicott, & the high estimation in which I held him. Of this I acknowledge I am not a little ashamed; for I had excellent opportunities of observing him and as my professional pursuits had naturally lead me to the study of *man*, I did not suppose it possible that I could have been imposed upon with so many favourable opportunities of becoming well acquainted with his character; Indeed I had such confidence in my judgment, that although suspicions were occasionally excited by his conduct after I became Secretary of the Treasury, yet they were always soon dismissed & I relapsed again into my accustomed confidence, until I could no longer shut my eyes to the fact that he was utterly regardless of any principle of honor or morality. I yet think he could not have been such as he now is when I removed from Baltimore in 1831—and that he did not suddenly become such afterwards. But he engaged in veiled and extravagant speculations, which ruined his own fortunes and for a time endangered the safety of the Union Bank over which he presided. This was his position when I removed the deposites, although I had not the slightest suspicion of it; and his first act of bad faith towards me was the concealment of the condition of the Union Bank & of the Bank of Maryland when the deposites were removed.

The last mentioned Bank was at that time tottering to its very foundations; & Mr. Ellicott knew it, and was struggling to sustain it. I have no doubt he hoped to extricate himself from these difficulties by my aid as Secretary of theTreasury; & it is possible that he may in the first instance have supposed that it could be accomplished without any violation of duty on my part, & without any loss to the public. He may have believed that he would be able by reason of my confidence in him to influence the measures of the Department so as to place the funds he wanted in his hands, without acquainting me with his difficulties, or permitting me to

know the uses to which he meant to apply the public money. He was disappointed in his plans. His difficulties thickened about him. His mind became greatly excited and agitated; and he was willing to disgrace and ruin me in order to save himself.

He failed to accomplish his object, and became the victim of his own schemes, and is now verifying the well known principle—that a man never forgives one whom he has deliberately endeavoured to injure. But I cannot believe that he was equally ready to do evil when I was intimate with him.

Be this however as it may, nothing had happened to shake my confidence in him when I unexpectedly & I may say most unwillingly, found myself about to enter upon the duties of Secretary of the Treasury. The removal of the deposites had then been determined on by the President, with whom I entirely concurred; and as a member of his cabinet I had advised the plan which he finally decided to adopt. But I had never supposed that it would become my duty to carry this plan into execution, and there were many matters of detail essential to the success of the measure upon which I had bestowed but little consideration. I had regarded them as more properly belonging to the Treasury Department than to the Cabinet. But having advised the measure when I supposed its responsibility and hazards were to be encountered by another, it would have been dishonorable in me to shrink from the post of Danger, when the President requested me to occupy it—and when it was evident that the plan must fail, and the Bank triumph in its corruptions unless some one who concurred with the President in opinion, & possessed his entire confidence & was aware of all the difficulties in which the subject was involved, would immediately take charge of the Department. Although I could not hesitate as to the matter of duty, yet I was aware that many arrangements were to be made which required careful and deliberate consideration before I took the final step; and I wished to consult with practical Bankers in order to arrange with them the manner of executing the more minute & Detailed portions of the new plan of Deposite; and also the measures of defence which might be rendered necessary by the hostility of the Bank of the U. States. Having unlimited confidence in Mr. Ellicott, I addressed a note to him requesting him to come to Washington—I kept no copy of this letter, but according to my recollection it was a short one & merely stated that I wished to see him—From the manner in which that wish was expressed & from our previous conferences in relation to the removal of the Deposites I had not doubt at the time that he would readily understand upon what subject I wished to converse with him.

He came to Washington accordingly and I had an interview of some hours with him & other gentlemen in whom I confided, in which the whole plan was fully and anxiously considered. None of those who were present supposed there would be any difficulty except from the hostility of the Bank of the U. States. But the Bankers all agreed that if the different offices of the Bank of U. States, refused to receive the notes of other branches in exchange with the Deposite Banks, it would be impossible for any State

Bank to undertake the fiscal agency, without having a more efficient support from the Department than the mere receipt of the accruing revenue. The correctness of this opinion was evident enough. The notes of the Bank of the United States were made payable at different Branches—and being receivable by the Government every where in payment of the public dues, the Bank in order to engross as much of the circulation as possible, so contrived its issues, that very few of its notes were ever found circulating in the neighbourhood of the Branch at which they were made payable. The notes circulating in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New-York or Boston for example were generally payable at some remote Branch; such as Fayetteville in North Carolina or Nashville in Tennessee, where it would be most inconvenient to send for specie. As the Mother Bank & its offices in the commercial cities refused to receive them in settlements with the State Banks, the latter were compelled to refuse them also, except in limitted [sic] amounts; that is to say they took as much as they supposed would be taken by their customers to pay revenue bonds. The result of this was that notes of these remote Branches were almost always in considerable amounts in the hands of brokers for sale at a small discount, & were purchased by the merchants to pay their Duty bonds; and as the merchants were by this means enabled to pay their debts to the government in a depreciated currency, they were of course very well satisfied with it, and supported the Bank in this kind of circulation. The Mother Bank at Philadelphia carried out this scheme of keeping afloat a depreciated currency even in very small affairs. For on the only occasion on which I was ever in the Banking house, they refused to give me their own notes or notes of the Philadelphia Banks for an hundred dollar note of one of their Branches, which I wished to exchange for smaller notes in order to settle some trifling bills in Philadelphia where I had been detained some weeks by sickness; and I was recommended by the Teller of the Bank to go to a Broker whom he named, and who charged me one dollar discount, giving me ninety nine dollars for my hundred dollar note. I mention this to shew how even in such a small concern the Bank was careful to depreciate the notes of its Branches. It succeeded to a great extent and the Chief part of the government dues were always paid in this depreciated currency.

It was manifest that a very large portion of the receipts of the Deposite Banks, for duty bonds would be made in this paper—and it was equally obvious that if the Bank of the U. States, refused it in the weekly settlements which took place with the State Banks; & Demanded Specie for their balances, no Bank would be safe which undertook the agency for the public unless the governemnt had the means of supporting them, until the specie could be collected for these notes. And indeed if they were obliged to send to the Distant Branches for specie for all the notes of this description which should come to their hands, the fiscal agency would probably be of very little value to them. This seemed to be the principal difficulty anticipated by the Banks, & they wished to know how it could be obviated.

In reply to this I answered that the government had on deposite in the Bank of the U. States upwards of five millions of Dollars. That it was intended that this sum should be drawn out gradually as it was needed for the public service; but that if the Bank or its Branches refused to receive the notes of other offices in the weekly settlements with the Deposite Banks; or if it suddenly Demanded the balances which it had been accustomed to leave in the hands of the State Banks, I would immediately give transfer drafts on the Bank for the amount of the Branch notes which they might refuse to receive, and for the balances which they might oppressively draw; & that I was satisfied that the Bank with the heavy deposite of public money it had in its hands, liable to be immediately demanded, & which it was by no means convenient for it to pay without some further proposition it would hardly refuse its branch notes when it understood that the same amount would be drawn from it in specie. The Bankers who were present, supposed that this arrangement would enable them to withstand the hostility of the Bank of U. States, and willingly accepted the deposites on these terms.

It is proper to state that Mr. Ellicott did not entirely approve of the plan I determined on. And some points earnestly proposed by him must be here stated as they serve to explain his earlier letters & contribute also to shew the sceret motives by which he was influenced. Subsequent events have abundantly proved, that the public good, & patriotic principles which were always on his lips, had but little to do with the projects he so perseveringly urged at this interview. They were as follows,

1. That each of the selected Banks, should be required immediately to pledge to the government, the Stock of some one of the States—or other stock in which the Department would have confidence—sufficient in amount to secure all the public money which might be Deposited with them, & that no other kind of Security should be accepted. He Stated that the Union Bank of Maryland was ready to give the proposed security either in bonds of the State of Tennessee, or in bonds of the Baltimore and Ohio rail road Company at the option of the Department.

2. That the whole sum then on deposite in the Bank of the U. States should be immediately withdrawn—and divided equally among the deposite Banks selected in the principal commercial cities.

It is not necessary for the purposes of this narrative to state the reasons urged by Mr. Ellicott in favor af these propositions—After hearing all that he desired to say on the subject, I did not agree with him & refused to adopt his plan,—and drew up the agreement since published with my official reports to Congress, which was executed by the several selected Banks before they entered upon their duties as public agents.

As I was a stockholder to a small amount in the Union Bank of Maryland, I did not make the selection of the Deposite Bank in Baltimore. I should have made the selection without hesitation, and should have appointed the Union Bank, without supposing for a moment that even

my worst enemies would have suspected me of any unworthy motive in making the selection, but for the unlooked for opposition of some of my warm personal and political friends in the city of Baltimore. They wrote to me in very earnest & strong terms against the selection of that Bank; expressed their want of confidence in Mr. Ellicott, & urged the appointment of the Bank of Baltimore. Two of them came to Washington and after remonstrating against the appointment of the Union Bank, & finding they made no impression upon me, they went to the President. I was not a little hurt by this proceeding, because it seemed to imply a want of confidence in me, & I believed their Suspicions of Mr. Ellicott to be entirely groundless. But as they had made such a serious matter of it, and had asked the interposition of the President, although I was quite sure that these gentlemen themselves had not the slightest suspicion of the integrity of my motives, I was at the same time equally satisfied that if in the face of such opposition, I selected the Union Bank and refused even to associate the Bank of Baltimore with it, my political opponents would endeavour to make a handle of it; and would represent my decision as governed by my personal interests. I therefore determined to request the President to decide whether one or two Banks should be selected in Baltimore; and if in his judgment only one ought to be employed, then to name the Bank which he deemed it most adviseable to appoint. I accordingly brought the subject before him, stated the difficulty of my position; represented honestly and fairly the relative advantages of the two Banks—and frankly Stated to him my opinions, and the opposing opinions of the friends who had written to me, as well as of those who had visited Washington. He took until the next day to consider it, and then recommended the appointment of the Union Bank alone. The selection made by the President was certainly a very gratifying one to me. For I wished to have near me a practical Banker, familiar with the usual course of proceedings in Banks, and with the State of the money market, and how would be able generally to inform me of the condition of the Banks & of the merchants in the principal commercial cities; & who would moreover from a conviction that the measure was right be disposed to give it a cordial & willing support. Such I believed Mr. Ellicott to be, at the time I am speaking of; & his Bank was among the first selected, & entered upon its duties as fiscal agent on the day the deposites were withdrawn from the Bank of the U. States.

I am aware that a private correspondence by the head of the Treasury Department with one of his subordinate agents, concerning the official business & duties of the agent, is highly indiscreet; and would justly lead to suspicions injurious to the character of the Secretary unless the reasons for it were apparent, & such as to justify this Secret communication. In general no Secretary ought to answer any communication from his subordinate agent, except in an official form, when the letter relates to the public business in charge of the agent. For in the ordinary course of business nothing ought to pass between them which the public may not immediately know. But my situation in the Treasury Department was a

peculiar one—and not only justified the active private correspondence in which I was engaged, but forced it upon me as a public duty. The Bank of the U. States was openly engaged in endeavouring to produce a scene of bankruptcy and distress throughout the Union; it had by its money obtained the control of many of the leading news-papers; under the direction of the Bank they were seeking to destroy confidence in the State Banks; to create a panic; to produce a run upon them for Specie & compel them to Stop payment, & thereby throw the country into confusion, & deprive the government of the money which it had deposited in them. The leaders of the party who called themselves *Whigs*, numbering in their ranks nearly one half of the people of the U. States, and a decided majority of the Senate were openly & actively cooperating with the Bank, and day by day endeavouring by inflam[m]atory speeches & resolutions to increase the excitement and alarm. Every difficulty in a Bank, and every individual failure was eagerly seized upon & exaggerated and commented on in the news-papers & the Senate; and every invention and fabrication which appeared in the news-papers of the Bank was repeated in speeches in the Senate, and assumed to be true. When therefore any difficulty was experienced by one of the deposite Banks, or any apprehension felt for the safety of the State Banks by the Department, it would have been the extreme of folly to expose it in my official correspondence; for any uneasiness on my part would have been instantly transmitted through the country, and the danger magnified, in speeches & news-paper paragraphs without number. My duty to the public required that I should if possible preserve the country from the general distress & ruin which must have been occasioned by the Stoppage of the Banks; and indeed it was highly probable in the then excited state of the public mind, that if the Banks had stopped payment, a convulsion would have followed and our political institutions have been placed in Jeopardy. The wheels of government would have been stopped by the stoppage of the Banks, as the whole public revenue was deposited with them. Any unnecesary disclosure therefore on my part of existing difficulties or apprehended dangers, which would have aided the designs of those who were struggling to produce this disastrous result, would have been a breach of my duty to the public; and would have been hardly more excusable than information given to the enemy in time of war. It was indeed a war waged upon the people of the U. States; for no hostile nation ever strove more earnestly to distress another. The weapons to be sure were different but the end was the same.

The excitement is now past and every one must see that the panic and alarm then created was utterly groundless, & that it was contrived and got up deliberately by great exertions & a vast expenditure of money, for the purpose of bringing distress upon the country, & thereby to influence the elections. Yet strange as it may seem the principal actors in these scenes of ruin have lost none of their popularity with their party. Such is the madness of party strife. It is not however my purpose at this time to review the conduct of those who took a leading part in this memorable conflict. My only object in referring to it is to shew why I

carried on a private correspondence with those who were the fiscal agents of the government, upon subjects connected with their public duties. I gave to the adversary whatever information my duty as an officer, or my duty as man of honor, required me to give;—but I gave them nothing more; and hence the private and confidential correspondence on certain occasions between Mr. Ellicott & myself.

I have copies of but few of my private letters to Mr. Ellicott. It has never been my practice to retain copies of my letters, nor to preserve letters received from others;and having gone late in life into official employment, I carried with me the habits I had before formed; and frequently threw into the fire the private and confidential letters I received as soon as I read them, & believe that I have now scarcely a single private communication that was addressed to me when I was attorney Genl. of the U. States. They were always destroyed either as soon as they were received, or at all events, as soon as the business was transacted to which they related. When I became Secretary of the Treasury, private & confidential letters multiplied upon me, & scarcely a day passed without them. They grew out of the excitement of the time, & the position in which I was placed. It was my practice after a cursory perusal of them in my public office where my letters by the mail were always received and where I was every moment interrupted by persons who were calling either on business, or as friends, to lock my private letters & the public papers which I wished to examine with more deliberation in a small trunk, & as soon as the usual hours of official business at the Department were over, one of the Messengers took the trunk to my private office at my own house, where after night I most generally wrote the answers to such letters I supposed it proper to answer—The great press of business upon me often put it out of my power to reply on the same evening that I received them and it often required some enquiry to enable me to answer; & sometimes a little reflection to determine whether it was proper to answer at all; and as I worked very late, I was generally too much fatigued at the close of my labours to make a selection, of those which it was necessary to preserve for future attention & reply—All of the private letters therefore, except those which were thrown into the fire as soon as they were read, were left upon the table and the public papers together with such letters as I had written were placed in the trunk & carried to the public office by the messenger the next morning. In this way my table became literally piled with private letters to me which in due time began to fall upon the floor & occupied a corner of the room. Many of them were no doubt destroyed by the carelessness of servants, & many were thrown into the fire as soon as they were read, & some of Mr. Ellicotts undoubtedly shared this fate; for I find there must have been some letters from him, which are not now among my papers;—Many more of them would have been destroyed when I left Washington, had not Mr. Ellicott in a conversation with Mr. Young intimated that he might probably publish my private letters. This happened a few weeks before I left the Department. Mr. Young was my chief clerk & a man of the highest honor, & I had sent

him to Baltimore to endeavour to obtain security from the Union Bank for a large sum of money which the Bank of the Metropolis, had suffered to remain there on Deposite at my request;—Instead of giving the security, he demanded more money, & in one of his conversations with Mr. Young took occasion to open a drawer containing my letters, in order that Mr. Young might see them, & then in dark and ambiguous phrases gave Mr. Young to understand, that he might deem it necessary to publish them. Mr. Young immediately informed me of this conversation—It became necessary therefore to look up all of his letters to me, that our correspondence might not begarbled and misrepresented; At first I employed my daughters in arranging & endorsing them for me, but they were much in society & not accustomed to such business, & I feared mistakes might be committed; I therefore sent one of my clerks to my private office and directed him to search among the mass of papers for all the letters from Mr. Ellicott, & to indorse them and arrange them according to dates—By this means I have saved enough to defend myself from his misrepresentations. Fortunately also I retained a copy of one of the most important & was induced to do so contrary to my general habit by the following circumstances.

It will appear from the correspondence I am about to give, that a very few days after the deposites were removed I became much dissatisfied with the conduct of Mr. Ellicott; and in this state of feeling, notwithstanding the confidence I had so long been accustomed to repose in him, the warnings of friends, and all that they had said—of his duplicity & selfishness came back to my mind and rendered me for a time very uneasy and induced me to think it advisable to retain copies of my letters to him. I accordingly kept a copy of one which I wrote to him on the 10 of October 1833, and of another of the 11th. of this same month. But he had the address in a very little time to remove these unpleasant feelings, & I relapsed into my old habit of confidence; and so carelessly were these two copies afterwards kept that one of them has been lost. In the spring of 1834 however I had but too many proofs of his treachery & want of moral principle; and I have copies of several letters written to him at that time. Yet even then I hesitated longer than I ought to have done as to his true character & endeavoured to find excuses for him in the excitement & difficulties of the times which appeared to have clouded his judgment; and until the proofs became too strong to be resisted I was disposed to put the best interpretation upon his actions—and had not entirely given him up even when I was keeping copies of his letters.

Indeed such was my confidence in him that after I had determined on the plan to be adopted in the removal of the deposites and the agreement which I should require from the selected Banks, I sought a private interview, and said to him, " Mr. Ellicott the arrangements are now all made, & you see my plan. Its success depends upon the condition of the State Banks. If they have been prudently managed I have no fear of the hostility of the Bank of the U. States;—But you are aware that I can

have no personal knowledge of this fact, and that I rely mainly upon your opinion because your position has given you the best opportunities of information. Have they been prudently managed and are they now in safe condition? I conjure you to answer me frankly for I feel the great responsibility of the measure I am about to undertake; & it is not yet too late to stop. if there is any reasonable doubt of its success." He answered, " I cannot undertake to speak of the Banks out of the City of Baltimore; but as far as I can judge I believe they are in a good situation—for I know nothing to the contrary. But as to the Banks of Baltimore I am confident that they are sound and prudently managed. You need have no fears of any of them."

I had not at this time the slightest suspicion of the safety of the Bank of Maryland. While I resided in Baltimore Mr. Ellicott frequently spoke to me of Mr. Poultney in terms of high praise. He was his family connexion, and very intimate with him & Mr. Ellicott appeared to take a deep interest in his welfare. He represented him as a man skilful discreet & enterprizing in the business of banking and very successful in it. Mr. Poultney was at the head of the Susquehanna Bridge and Bank company some years before I removed to Washington. About the time I left Baltimore he became the President of the Bank of Maryland. As I continued while I was Attorney General of the U. States to practice in the State Courts, I spent much of my time in Baltimore; and being still counsel for the Union Bank, Mr. Ellicott & myself often met, and kept up our intimate and friendly relations. In the interviews I had with him our conversations were not confined to matters of business, and he often upon these occasions spoke of Mr. Poultneys skilful management of the Bank of Maryland and of the high price to which its stock had risen, notwithstanding the hostility manifested towards him by the Branch of the U. States Bank at Baltimore. He represented this Branch as acting oppressively towards the Bank of Maryland, and endeavouring to discredit it by refusing to receive its notes or to keep an account with it; He complained that this conduct of the Branch embarrassed the Bank of Maryland;—that the mother Bank and the other Branches received its notes and sent them to the Branch here for collection; and by that means enabled it to make sudden and heavy demands for specie, which must be met without a moments delay; and that a great Bank like that of the U. States, with its numerous Branches acting in that manner, towards a single Bank with small capital, might crush it, at some unlucky moment however skilfully & prudently it was managed. He represented the leading members of the Branch Board, as offended because Mr. Morris [16] had been removed by the stockholders & Mr. Poultney elected in his place, and he imputed their conduct to feelings of resentment on account of this change in the President.

[16] John B. Morris (1785-1874). A member of the state senate, 1832-1835, Morris was also prominent in banking circles. He was president of the Mechanics Bank of Baltimore for more than 30 years.

In all of these conversations, he talked as if the Stock of the Bank of Maryland, like that of the other Banks in Baltimore, was divided among many Stock-holders and left me under the impression that the price at which it was quoted in the news-papers, was the market price for which it was bought and sold like the stocks of other Banks; and I had not the slightest suspicion that Mr. Poultney had become in reality the sole owner of the Bank, and that the price of the Stock as stated in the news-papers was nothing more than the value he chose to affix to it. And I was perfectly astonished when I learned from the publications which grew out of the failure of that Bank that the removal of Mr. Morris, which was said to have produced such serious consequences was a mere fiction; and that he refused to act as the President when he found that Mr. Poultney was in effect the owner of the Bank & had the entire control of it. The story of the hostility of the Branch was equally unfounded. The refusal to receive the notes or to keep an account with it, was the act of the cashier Mr. John White, a gentleman of the highest integrity, and of great knowledge & excellent judgment in the Monetary affairs of the country. He regarded the Bank of Maryland as a private Bank, when Mr. Poultney obtained the entire control if it, and was satisfied from the manner in which he was carrying on his operations, that sooner or later the Bank must break; and that it was his duty therefore not to hazard the interests of the institution of which he was an officer, by taking its notes or keeping an account with it; because if he did so, he might in spite of every prudence and care on his part find his Bank a heavy loser when the explosion took place. The directors of the Branch would have been well satisfied if he had taken a different course; but they would not order him to change it. The representations however of which I have spoken were not made to me only; for there was a general impression in the city, that the Branch was acting harshly towards the Bank of Maryland, and a good deal of sympathy was felt for the latter as the weaker and the injured party and the Bank of Maryland became decidedly a popular Bank among the people of Baltimore & Mr. Poultney a very popular President. I may be excused for having given confidence to the statements of Mr. Ellicott upon this subject, because I often heard it said by others as well as by him, that the Branch was acting imperiously & oppressively towards this Bank; and it so happened that I never conversed with Mr. White in relation to this matter until after the appearance of Mr. Ellicotts pamphlet. Five minutes talk with him, would have put me on my guard, by shewing the impositions he had practised upon me & would have prevented me from selecting the Union Bank as one of the depositories of the public revenue.

With these explanatory observations I proceed with the narrative of my private communications with Mr. Ellicott, after the removal of the Deposites and after his Bank had been selected as one of the Deposite Banks.

(*To be continued*)

SIDELIGHTS

A FAMILY LETTER WITH VIEWS ON LINCOLN, 1862

The following letter was written by Dr. Harvey Colburn of Baltimore to his son, the Reverend Edward A. Colburn, Rector of Deer Creek Parish, Harford County.* It reflects the division of loyalties within one family and gives contemporary reaction to the leadership of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States.

Baltimore, January 16, 1862.

Dear Edward:—I intended writing to you before this, and commenced a letter which I destroyed, instead of finishing it.

I suppose that it is proper that I should congratulate you and Annie on the birth of a son, and I devoutly hope that he may be to you a source of great comfort. Born in the midst of rebellious times when so large a portion of the people of this great country " glory in their shame," and are ambitious to excel Benedict Arnold as traitors. I cannot feel the pleasure in thinking of him that I should have done two years ago; but I am highly gratified in knowing that Annie is doing well; and shall indulge the hope that both parents and child may be blessed with many years of happiness in this world, that the infant may become a true patriot, and a useful & prominent member of this great Republic.

I shall not trouble you with advice about a name for the child beyond saying, that if you should contemplate calling him Jeff., that you omit not to add Beelzebub.

We have not heard from Rollison since he left home (last Saturday).

Two teachers were advertised for by a Mr. Ramsay of Port Deposite, on the 2d., salary at the rate of $300. per ann. Roll. wrote to Mr. R. and rec'd. an answer on the 7th. saying that he should have one of the schools, about one mile from the Port; that he could board at the Hotel in the Port, or, near to the school.

Roll was apprehensive that his youthful appearance would be objected to, and that he would be sent back; but as we have neither seen nor heard from him, I presume that he is at work.

I told him that should such objection be made, he must tell them that he was old enough, and was qualified for the duties, and come for no other purpose than to perform them.

* The original letter has been presented to the Maryland Historical Society by Mr. Layton Rogers Colburn, Delray Beach, Florida.

I was sorry to hear from your mother that you entertain so bad an opinion of Mr. Lincoln. You know very well that he was not my choice, and that I worked for the Union nominees; but think for one moment what a predicament we should be in if we had elected Mr. Bell.[1] The same difficulties would have occurred, & he could not have resisted them as is evident from his backing down so soon. The Breckenridge party denounced him as an abolitionist, (as the Democrats did Mr. Clay,) and the leaders were determined on secession no matter who was elected. They had been concocting the movement for ten years, and Jeff. Davis, as Secretary of War under Pearce [Pierce], commenced sending the largest quantities of arms & ammunition South. He was told that they were not needed there, and he said that he did not want to be interfered with. Floyd [2] followed, & when the rebellion broke out it was found that almost all of the arms, large & small, of any value, were in the seceded states.

When Mr. Lincoln came into office he found an empty Treasury, (robbed by Cobb [3] & Floyd,) a mere handful of men in the army, & no amount of arms or ammunition. Everything must be commenced anew, and no money to pay with. Commerce, & trade generally, gone, and no land sales. The revenue not sufficient to meet current expenses, much less to provide & equip an Army. The States sending the first troops into Washington had to furnish them, and no funds could be raised until Congress could meet and legislate, and when they did so, it was a matter of doubt whether a broken Treasury could obtain credit. Usually large sums can readily be obtained from Europe; but the London Times came down upon us at once, and advised that no money should be loaned to us, and we have been obliged to depend upon our own capitalists for the means to carry on the war. Had Mr. Lincoln been an abolitionist he could not have borrowed $50,000,000. *He is not an abolitionist*, which can be easily proved by his speeches when "stumping" his State with Douglas, and Benjamin,[4] (the present Attorney General under Davis,) quoted from Mr. Lincoln's replies to Douglas to prove he was much the more conservative of the two. The abolitionists expect nothing from him. Gerrett Smith [5] says that, and assigns as a reason that Mr. Lincoln worships the Constitu-

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[1] John Bell (1797-1869) was presidential candidate of the moderate Constitutional Union Party. He held his home state of Tennessee in the Union until after the firing on Fort Sumpter. He then counseled resistance to Union invasion.

[2] John Buchanan Floyd (1807-1863), U. S. Secretary of War (1857-1860). His resignation was requested by President Buchanan for irregular practices in the War Department, which involved a loss of $870,000. The claim that he transferred large quantities of arms to Southern arsenals is now questioned, but his incompetency is generally acknowledged.

[3] Howell Cobb (1815-1868) was appointed Secretary of the Treasury in 1857. He resigned after Lincoln's election and took an active part in organizing the Confederacy.

[4] Judah P. Benjamin (1811-1884) later served as Secretary of War and Secretary of State in the Confederacy.

[5] Gerrit Smith (1797-1874), philanthropist and abolitionist, was a friend of John Brown. At the close of the war he urged moderation and in 1867 was one of the signers of the bail bond of Jefferson Davis.

tion. The ultra men of his own party are disappointed. He has thrown Fremont [6] & Phelps [7] overboard, and given Mr. Cameron permission to go to Russia.[8]

Mr. L. believes that Congress has the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, provided the masters are paid the value of their slaves; but he does not hold that there is any right to abolish it in the States, and he considers a " Fugitive Slave Law " is not unconstitutional. He is opposed to extending it, (slavery,) into territory which is already free, and so was Mr. Clay.

Mr. Lincoln said some things on his way to Washington that I regretted; but every man has his weaknesses, his foibles, & his faults. Look at the circumstances under which he came into office, and if he were not possessed of much talent, & great decision of character, we should have been completely broken down months ago.

By the 1st. of March we shall probably find that the rebel army is nearly or quite broken up, and when that difficulty is settled I think that neither England nor France will be over anxious to pick a quarrel with us.

I was highly gratified with the exploit of Wilks; [9] but it is made manifest that the proceeding was irregular, and not in accordance with inter-national law. Mr. Seward's prompt note to our Minister in London stated that the transaction was without the knowledge of the Government, consequently their surrender was no *humiliation. Austria says that it would be no humiliation.* It was simply an act of justice that the men should be returned. The rebels are chop-fallen that they have lost their capital which they expected to make out of seizure.

I hope Mason & Slidell were not sent to Davy's Locker in that gale.

I have come to think upon Mr. Lincoln as a conservative man; a good old Whig, and of undoubted honesty, combined with excellent practical talents. He is somewhat singular; but faithful.

So much to endeavor to induce you to open your eyes wide enough to see the good points of our President—the President of the U. States.

We are all very well, if I except a slight sore throat in Frank, for which I have kept him at home two or three days.

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[6] John Charles Fremont (1813-1890), famous explorer, was the Republican presidential candidate in 1856.

[7] Probably John Smith Phelps (1814-1886), who was appointed by Lincoln as military governor of Arkansas in July, 1862, but later resigned the position.

[8] Simon Cameron (1799-1889) was a candidate for the nomination of President at the Republican national convention, but supported Lincoln after the first ballot. Lincoln reluctantly appointed him Secretary of War, but the corruption in the War Department became so notorious, Lincoln eased Cameron out by appointing him Minister to Russia.

[9] Charles Wilkes (1798-1877), naval officer and explorer for whom Wilkes Land was named. As commander of the *San Jacinto* he stopped the British mail ship *Trent* and removed from it the Confederate commissioners John Slidell and James M. Mason on November 8, 1861. The Trent Affair almost involved the United States in a war with Great Britain, but Wilkes' action was disavowed and the prisoners released. The Confederacy had hoped for recognition by Great Britain from the incident.

Nothing new among us, unless the election of Dr. Hawkes [10] to Christ Church on a salary of $3,500 is news to you. Such is the report, and it said that he thinks himself badly treated at Calvary, in N. Y. They did pay him $7,000. It is not said that he either accepted or declined Christ Church.

Give my love to Annie & kiss the baby for us.

Kind regards to Mrs. Jackson. What could she rent her place for, with the stock?

Affectionately
H. Colburn.

P. S.—January. 17—Nat. & I have visited Annapolis today. Rev. Mr. Syle [11] was at your Aunt Mary's today. He has been elected to, and accepted, Trinity Church, Washington. He is a strong Union man, and told the Captain that he knew that this secession movement had been concocting for fifteen years between the South & England.

I spent an hour with Mr. Leary, M. C.,[12] this evening, & he says that Mr. Lincoln is one of the most conservative men in the country, and boasts of his old Whig principles.

18th. We have a letter from Roll. He is about two miles from Port Deposite, boarding with a family by the name of Guy, at $2.50 per week, including washing & fire in his room. He commenced in school on Monday, has one boy larger than himself, and two girls as large. Letters to be directed to Deposite, care Mr. Jeff. Ramsay. We have also a letter from Harry. He is again out of employment. All well in Newark & Elizabeth.

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[10] Francis Lister Hawks (1798-1866), eminent Protestant Episcopal clergyman and historian, resigned his position at Calvary Church in New York in 1862 and became rector of Christ Church, Baltimore. He had strong Southern sympathies during the War.

[11] Reverend E. W. Syle.

[12] Cornelius Lawrence Ludlow Leary (1813-1893) was elected as a Unionist to the Thirty-seventh Congress (1861-1863).

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The South in the American Revolution, 1763-1789. By JOHN RICHARD ALDEN. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas, 1957. Volume III of *A History of the South*, edited by WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON and E. MERTON COULTER. xv, 442 pp. $7.50.

A full account of the South in the era of the Revolution has long been awaited, for of all the areas involved in that struggle the South has been most neglected. Whatever the reason—possibly preoccupation with the Lost Cause and its effects—the lack of a comprehensive study has been regrettable since the South yields to no area in importance during the period. Now at last that energetic scholar of the Revolution, John Richard Alden, has addressed himself to the problem. A graduate student at Michigan, formerly professor of history at Nebraska, and currently professor of history at Duke, Mr. Alden is no Southerner but understands both the section and the era. He has published valuable studies of General Gage, Charles Lee, and John Stuart. He has edited the two-volume work on the Revolution by the late Christopher Ward. Recently he authored *The American Revolution, 1775-1783*, in Harper's *Rise of the American Nation* series. He therefore brings a remarkable knowledge of the period to his study of the South, which, he admits, has always fascinated him.

Mr. Alden conceives of these years, 1763-1789, as a whole and concerns himself with the South of the Revolution, namely, the territory between the eastern mountains and the Mississippi, especially the seaboard colonies from Maryland to Georgia. He looks at four main subjects: the Southerners' part in the war itself, the rise of North-South controversy, reforms within the Southern colonies before the conflict, and the role of the South in the formation of the Federal Union. His program is ambitious, given the limitations of a single volume, but his results are impressive.

The role of the South in the conflict finds Mr. Alden at his happiest. He gives a concise but brilliant account of the military campaigns from the early American victories at Moore's Creek and Charleston through the dreadful days of invasion from 1779 on, with the check and counter check of Cornwallis and Greene, to the final victory at Yorktown. Most of this is traditional, of course, but Mr. Alden illuminates even lighted pathways with a still greater incandescence. Nor does he fail to consider either the neglected southwestern front, with the Spanish-American drive

against the British on the lower Mississippi and in West Florida, or Clark's lunge into the Illinois country claimed by Virginia. Throughout, he keeps in mind the South and Southerners, the one as a theater of conflict, the other in terms of contributions in the field, in state office, and in the halls of Congress.

But it would be less than just to think of Mr. Alden simply as the excellent military historian he is. He develops with great care the political tides of opinion reflecting public reaction to the economic policies of the Crown following the French and Indian War. From Maryland to Georgia he considers the problems faced by each colony and explains in his analysis why the South, although it had fewer economic grievances against the Crown than the Northern colonies, was fully as ardent as the New Englanders in defense of American rights.

Likewise Mr. Alden explores, perhaps too briefly, the controversy between North and South, which had its origins almost from the beginning but rose sharply during the war over cooperation and in the 1780's over slavery and representation. He also investigates, much more deftly, the controversy between the East and West within each colony, reflecting, as it did, the social rifts between the settled, cultured Low Country and the frontier elements of the Upland who lacked education and elegance—hot-headed, trigger-happy Scots, Scotch-Irish, Germans, and English who lived in peril from the Indians and often in defiance of sheriffs and governors.

In the years following the Revolution many factions in the South, particularly the conservatives, began to see advantages in strengthening the central American government. Mr. Alden analyzes with discernment the moves which culminated in the great convention of 1787, the convention itself, and the enormously important part played by the South both in the convention and in finally getting the Constitution adopted. The struggle within the Southern states over the Constitution is, strangely, given short shrift in space, but, in the few pages he devotes to the subject, Mr. Alden points out effectively the intensity of the struggle and the bitterness and rancor that often characterized the debates—an anti-Federalist in North Carolina, for example, condemning Washington as "a damned rascal and traitor" for signing the Constitution and a prominent Federalist denouncing the speaker and his party as "a set of fools and knaves." In the end, although a later generation of Southerners was to regret the decision to accept the new Union, the South of the 1780's, in Mr. Alden's words, "emerging as a section with interests opposed to those of a North, set aside fears of domination by that North, and freely joined in making it."

This book is one of the finest in that excellent *History of the South* series—it is scholarly, authoritative, and well-written. Its major shortcoming is that of the series itself, of any regional series however admirable in conception and design. The emphasis is upon but one section of the country, and notwithstanding the author's efforts to avoid parochialism, the larger view of continental developments is frequently subordinated to

a preoccupation with what happened in the South, thereby giving a somewhat distorted image. Fortunately Mr. Alden is too good a historian to permit any reader conclude that it was the South that dominated the period. Rather he endeavors to make clear that it was the combined labors and sacrifices of all sections of the country, however different their economic and social structures, that contributed to the successful conclusion of the war and laid the foundations of the new Union under the Federal Constitution.

WILLARD M. WALLACE

Wesleyan University

The Frontier in Perspective, Edited by WALKER D. WYMAN and CLIFTON B. KROEBER. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957. $5.50.

The chronology of events leading up to the publication of *The Frontier in Perspective* reveals the course of one school of American historiography. In 1854 Lyman Copeland Draper, a pottering but indefatigable collector of frontier documents, began his career as secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Some forty years later, Frederick Jackson Turner, who had access to the Draper collection, proposed his frontier thesis before the American Historical Association. In 1954 the University of Wisconsin sponsored a series of lectures in Draper's memory under the title "Wisconsin Reconsiders the Frontier." These published lectures re-examine the Turner thesis in the light of new and extended knowledge of frontiers throughout the world. The volume is dedicated to the memory of Draper, but he is not mentioned in any of the essays, a circumstance that is indicative of the role that Draper, and perhaps, all antiquarians, play in the development of historiography.

Not only is the frontier theory of American history re-examined in this collection; seven of the thirteen essays deal with the application of the Turner theory to other frontiers. Just before closing his address on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Turner said: "What the Mediterranean Sea was to the Greeks, breaking the bond of custom, offering new experiences, calling out new institutions and activities, that, and more, the ever retreating frontier has been to the United States directly, and to the nations of Europe more remotely."

Somewhat appropriately then, Paul L. MacKendrick, a classicist, introduces this series with a discussion of the Roman frontier as seen under the Turner hypothesis. In similar manner the frontiers of the Mediterranean world between 1000 and 1400, of Spanish America, of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and Russia's far eastern expansion are examined by other scholars. Unique among those discussed is the Chinese frontier. It was fixed. From it the invader came. The last essay on the world frontier is Walter Prescott Webb's "The Western World Frontier."

The conclusions that the authors draw are, in the main, sympathetic, but cautious. Professor MacKendrick sets the tone by admitting the many

differences between Rome and American frontiers, yet he believes that the application of the Turner hypothesis to the colonial experience of Rome promises fruitful results. Professor Silvio Zavala, who writes on the frontiers of Hispanic America, concludes as follows: "I believe that the evidence is not all in, that the thesis may be examined in other regions and from other points of view." Professor Webb, however, goes further: "When from the same vantage point we observe the interaction between the Metropolis and the Great Frontier over a period of four and one-half centuries we feel that we have perhaps found one of the keys to modern Western civilization. In this interaction, we see a prime example of Toynbee's challenge and response; we see a backdrop of Spengler's philosophy of rise and decay, which he probably did not see."

The second half of this collection of essays deals with the American frontier. Here we are consoled by the fact that we are on more familiar, if not surer, ground. Thomas Perkins Abernethy interprets the southern frontiers in terms other than the Turner theory. "Jefferson's democracy," he points out, "came from European philosophers, not from his contact with the wilderness." There follows a series of excellent essays. Paul W. Gates presents evidence of tenant farmers and farm laborers on the midwestern frontier, thereby showing that the social structure was more complex than many have assumed. Walter A. Agard writes of classics on the frontier—schools and colleges stressed Latin and Greek, the curriculum of the eastern colleges. This fact Turner admitted when he said: "The most effective efforts of the East to regulate the frontier came through its educational and religious activity, exerted by interstate migration and by organized societies. . . ." But, if we accept his theory, we must conclude that education had little to do with shaping political and social institutions.

Frederic G. Cassidy presents impressive evidence of the effect of the frontier on the development of the "American" language—the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition contain 1,107 Americanisms, 583 of which were unrecorded before. Henry Nash Smith has done an excellent essay on Mark Twain's *Roughing It*, and A. Irving Hallowell concludes the series with a suggestive evaluation of the impact of the Indian on American culture.

As studies of the American frontier these essays are extremely interesting. It is somewhat, unfortunate, perhaps, that it became necessary in every case for the author to view his material in the light of the Turner thesis.

For the reviewer of this collection, a question larger than the validity of the Turner theory arises: How valuable is it to raise a theory of history of this range to a higher level? In any attempt to understand history the temptation to seek a single, comprehensive theory is great, for rationalism has a way of leading to monism. But theories of the "middle range" are usually more amenable to verification than vast, architectonic systems that attempt to explain the whole of history. The brilliance and the synthesizing power of the Spenglers, the Toynbees, and the Webbs should

not obscure the importance of explanations of comparatively limited range. Nor should the contributions of the Drapers be overlooked.

JOHN WALTON

The Johns Hopkins University

The Log-Cabin Campaign. By ROBERT GRAY GUNDERSON. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957. xii, 292 pp. $7.50.

The Whig campaign for the election of William Henry Harrison and John Tyler in 1840 taught American politicians a practical lesson which has proved to be a basic essential of election contests for more than a century. The lesson was simple, but so effective that it was startling. Today, every experienced participant in America's distinctive game of politics knows that the first rule of the contest has little to do with the candidates, or the issues or the platforms—it is, in essence, "Get Out The Vote!"

American political campaigns in the half century before the Log-Cabin campaign were for the most part comparatively quiet, and were devoted mainly to partisan philosophy on broad issues. The composition of the electorate remained fairly stable, although the admission of Western states was introducing more democratic elements. But in 1840, although defeated Van Buren received 400,000 more votes than he had polled in 1836, the victorious Whigs had succeeded in bringing out more voters than had ever voted before, increasing the popular vote by more than 54% over that of 1836. "By appealing to the lowest common intellectual denominator, the log-cabin and hard-cider fanfaronade attracted a new interest in political affairs and stimulated a wider participation in politics."

From very thorough studies of contemporary newspapers, pamphlets and political correspondence, Dr. Gunderson has assembled an interesting and comprehensive narrative of the private machinations and public demonstrations which accompanied the most uproarious election in our history up to that time. The "Great Commotion" of 1840 was generated by hard times and the decline of the vigorous political unity that had existed under Jackson. Merchants, manufacturers, land speculators and advocates of internal improvements formed a legion of discontent under the Whig banner. Professional politicians like Weed, Seward, Greeley and Stevens began to invent attractive ideological issues. In January, 1840, two Whig campaign managers in Harrisburg decided to dramatize Harrison as the "Log-Cabin and Hard Cider" candidate, taking their cue from a sneering remark which had been published a few weeks earlier by the Democrats. No publicity stunt ever succeeded so well, for within the month, cabins, coons, hard cider, campaign songs, transparencies and slogans appeared everywhere. The alarmed Democrats tried to stem the tide by reviving the Jackson legend, but the feeble appearance of the ageing Hero of New Orleans at an anniversary celebration was of little interest.

After Charles Ogle, a Pennsylvania Congressman who had learned the power of violent invective from Thad Stevens, delivered his outrageous harangue against "the regal splendor of the President's palace," there were no longer any decent limits to the type of attacks hurled against "Sweet Sandy-Whiskers" Van Buren. For thousands of newly enfranchised voters, the choice seemed clear—a simple and easy decision for either the democratic Log-Cabin and Hard Cider candidate, or for the "effeminate, scheming trickster, who perfumed his whiskers, ate from gold spoons, and even installed a bathtub in the White House."

Untiring efforts of Whig campaign managers aroused such nationwide enthusiasm that even candidate Harrison felt obliged to join the campaign in person, and in unprecedented fashion took to the stump. The greatest tribute to his campaign managers is probably shown by the fact that Harrison actually began to believe that he lived in a log-cabin, instead of a rather stately mansion.

The author's frequent quotations from contemporary political journals make this history of a political campaign entertaining and a valuable source reference. He has made wide use of manuscript collections in northern and middle-western states to supply material for his descriptions of the activities of politicians and campaign managers, and has used the columns of dozens of newspapers, like Greeley's *Log Cabin*, The Cleveland *Axe*, the Baltimore *Log Cabin Advocate*, and the Washington *Globe* for contemporary comment. As a result, the book fills a real need for an accurate and well-documented account of the behind-the-scenes activities of a significant American political campaign.

The author has confined himself to the twelve-month period from the fall of 1839 to the election of 1840, and stays rather strictly within the limits of campaign operations and personalities. Despite the complications arising from the multiplicity of factions making up the Whig Party of 1840, the host of charges and counter-charges from both factions, and the introduction of real and fictitious issues, he has preserved a sense of continuity through the exciting months of 1840, and presented a clear picture of the actions and successive reactions which developed at various stages of the campaign.

Perhaps the significance of the boisterous Log-Cabin campaign in American political history is so well appreciated that additional interpretation is not necessary, but Dr. Gunderson's intensive study leads one to wish that he had indulged in some additional speculation as to its real relation to previous and to succeeding political methods. Certainly the Log-Cabin campaign has always been pictured as the most spectacular outburst of sudden political interest in our history, but many of the same methods were in evidence in 1800, in 1828, in 1884 and in 1896. Was the campaign of 1840 merely a more intensified version of a trend which had begun with Jackson, or perhaps even a natural outgrowth of democratic aversion to aristocracy which was so evident in the pamphleteering of 1800? Was it a sincere and natural expression of frontier sentiment, or was it the result of ingenious and strenuous activity on the part of astute campaign managers?

These broad questions are not the major elements of the author's interest, but for those who are interested in seeking further interpretation, this book will prove an excellent base for starting such an analysis.

The book is carefully documented, contains a few well-selected illustrations of campaign materials, and the publication format is excellent. Portions of the book have previously appeared in various historical periodicals.

FREDERIC SHRIVER KLEIN

Franklin and Marshall College

Baltimore . . . A Picture History, 1858-1958. Commentary by Francis F. Beirne. Compiled under the Auspices of the Maryland Historical Society. A Centennial Project of Hutzler Brothers Co. New York: Hastings House, 1957. 154 pp. $5.

From many sources, both public and private, including the bulging files of the Maryland Historical Society, the compilers gathered the quite remarkable pictures which make up the bulk of this excellent volume. It would be of great interest and value on the basis of its pictures alone. What gives it special distinction is the exceedingly graceful commentary by Francis F. Beirne, who, through his previous books, *The War of 1812* and *The Amiable Baltimoreans*, has achieved a unique place as a Baltimore chronicler.

This book fills a real need. The century it covers could be understood and appreciated fully only by persons of scholarly or antiquarian bent endowed with sufficient leisure to seek out for themselves the material of these pages. But for the common or garden variety Baltimorean, even for many rather exceptional citizens, this would be utterly impossible. *Baltimore . . . A Picture History* is for all of us a skillful, honest, accurate winnowing of a large body of material, intelligently interpreted and handsomely presented.

A prologue of admirable conciseness establishes the background to the 1858-1958 span. We get a deft word picture of Baltimore Town in 1729, when, after two false starts in other localities, the Maryland commissioners charged with founding a town named Baltimore bought a tract of 60 acres in what is now the heart of downtown. "The price paid," it is noted in the prologue, "was 40 shillings an acre, in money or tobacco at the rate of a penny a pound. Basing calculations on the price of Maryland tobacco then and now, that would be the equivalent of about $15,000 today, or less than enough to buy a modest ranch-type house burdened with the customary ground-rent."

In the 25 pages of the prologue one finds George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore; a map of the original town, roughly bounded by the Basin, Holliday, Saratoga and Liberty streets; old prints of vanished landmarks, portraits of such worthies as the Signer, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and the Revolutionary War hero, John Eager Howard; memorabilia of

Betsy Patterson and Jerome Bonaparte, of Francis Scott Key; old prints of the Washington Monument and other landmarks still happily and proudly standing; pictures reflecting Baltimore's growing commerce, wealth and culture. One finds clipper ships—also Poe, Professor Morse, Rembrandt Peale and his gaslit Museum; politics, trade, invention, down to the 1850's, when, as a mid-century print reveals, the shape and spirit of Baltimore as we know it today were clearly indicated.

The section covering 1858-1875, headed "Flourishing Metropolis of the Eastern Seaboard," reveals our border city in the troubled Civil War and post-war times. Photography begins to supplant the sketch-artist. There is a fine photograph of Union troops manning the cannon placed on Federal Hill—and formidable big guns they were, too— which General Ben Butler is said to have ordered trained upon the Maryland Club, a hotbed of Southern sympathizers.

"From the Somber Seventies to the Gay Nineties" brings the record down almost to the Great Fire, from the depression of 1877 and its riots to the first commercial electric street railway, the first linotype machine, the founding of the Johns Hopkins University and Hospital, the Pratt Library, Simon Lake's history-making submarine, and the excitement of War with Spain. This section is replete with Latrobe stoves, elegant carriages, steamboats, the old Orioles, raw bars, theatricals.

The section entitled "A New Century and a Millennium That Went Astray" (1900-1925) brings some marvelously serene pictures as well as appalling scenes of the fire disaster of February, 1904. Here are the last tollgate, automobiles supplanting the fine carriages, an airplane that traveled at 50 miles an hour; here, too, are Babe Ruth, William Jennings Bryan at the 1912 Democratic Convention, the poet Lizette Reese; here the excitement of the War to End All Wars.

The section 1925-58 must have been the most difficult to prepare, confronted as the compilers and commentator were with an embarrassment of riches. It is a marvel of choice selectivity in which H. L. Mencken, Mayor Broening, Lindbergh, Repeal, Wallis Warfield, war, shipping, and the major league Orioles all have their lively place in a chronicle of Baltimore from the relatively innocent twenties to the Atomic Age.

The conscientious reviewer feels in duty bound to look for and point out deficiencies or errors. But though this reviewer has done his evil best in this regard, he has found between the end-covers of "Baltimore . . . A Picture History" nothing to deplore, much to praise. In its attractive dust cover, the book is a delectable item—a sound and useful and wholly delightful work, of which the Maryland Historical Society and its generous patrons of the Hutzler Centennial have every right to feel proud.

R. P. Harriss

Baltimore

The Savings Bank of Baltimore, 1818-1866. A Historical and Analytical Study. By PETER LESTER PAYNE and LANCE EDWIN DAVIS. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956. lx, 188 pp. Paper, $3.

The purpose for which early mutual savings banks were organized in both this country and abroad was benevolent: to encourage the habit of thrift among the industrious poor and to provide a safe and profitable outlet for the small saver. Banking institutions formed for charitable ends may nevertheless, by guiding rivulets of savings into large pools of potential capital, both influence and be affected by broad-streamed changes flowing through the economy. The history of the Savings Bank of Baltimore during the years 1818-1866 provides illustration for both these points. Carefully told by two promising economic historians, one British (Payne), the other American, this history salutes a Baltimore landmark that is at once venerable and vigorous.

Following its formation by leading citizens of Baltimore in 1818 the Savings Bank of Baltimore grew slowly: depositors numbered only 256, assets amounted to only about $20,000 at the end of the first year of operations, the Bank had no building of its own, it lacked a permanent administrative force, and it was opened only one day a week by teams of directors donating their time and experience. It took fifteen years for assets to climb to the half-million mark. By 1838 they had reached a million, and depositors numbered 3,500. In 1860 assets totalled nearly six and a half million dollars and depositors nearly 21,000. One significant consequence of the Bank's growth was the slow passage of authority from the Board of Directors to salaried officers: by the early 'thirties management by full-time professionals had replaced initial management by amateurs. Of greater significance were the policy changes associated with the change in management. Sounder banking practices were adopted: investments were diversified, greater emphasis was placed upon liquidity, and depositors came to be viewed as "customers whose needs should be catered to" rather than as mere "recipients of aid."

From this point Payne and Davis proceed, in chapters of great interest, to examine the impact of business cycles upon the Bank, its reactions to economic crises, its changing investments, and its role in financing Baltimore's industry and trade. National business cycles appear to them most clearly reflected in the growth of total deposits (p. 80), but they also detect their importance as factors leading to change in loan policy (pp. 122, 128). The ability of the Bank to withstand panics in 1834, 1837, 1842, 1853 and 1857 they attribute to portfolio diversification, a willingness to pay all demands immediately in time of crisis, and the confident support of the Baltimore business community. After tracing the "steadily increasing diversification" in the Bank's assets the authors examine one facet of it, viz., the provision of industrial loans, and reach the conclusion that "the Bank played a significant, if minor, role in providing capital for the early industrial development of Baltimore" (p. 137). This is an important conclusion, for, as the authors note (p. 125), economic

historians have generally agreed that the banking systems of neither Great Britain nor the United States have in the past been very active in the field of "direct industrial financing." The Bank's apparent method was "to grant loans for relatively short periods of time but to renew them when they fell due" (p. 135).

Payne and Davis announce their important findings in words chosen with unusual care for their clarity and exactness. As a rule, they are equally circumspect in bringing economic theory to bear upon their data, for they usually apply it with a fine regard for earlier situations not always conformable to modern assumptions. (For example, after finding it "somewhat surprising" that the Bank lent to as many firms in the primary as in the secondary industries—surprising because "economic fluctuations were felt more violently in the primary goods industries," and because the Bank was conservative in its policy,—they observe that in the pre-Civil War period "cyclical fluctuations affected different industries in a less discriminating fashion than they have in more recent decades" (p. 127). Pages 66, 78, and 81 also furnish instances of what seem to me judiciously moderated applications of theory; pages 32 and 62 seem to me to contain exceptions to the rule).

Occasionally the authors' caution seems responsible for their having refrained from drawing conclusions to which their evidence clearly points. For example, while the Bank was organized for the charitable purpose of encouraging thrift among the industrious poor, it quickly outgrew its mantle of benevolence. In 1822 it set *at $50* the maximum amount permitted to be deposited in any one week (a figure clearly aimed at groups far removed from poverty) and retained this limit until June 1839 (p. 32). The authors allow this to pass without comment, as they do a subsequent quotation from the Board of Directors, in which the Board confesses (in 1854): "'In the early days of the operation of the Bank a number of Depositors were wealthy and the deposits large. . . .'" (p. 36). These are facts which belong together with the fact that the Bank cared little for liquidity during the earlier period (pp. 94-95; 102), for together they provide far more substantial support than the authors are otherwise able to summon for their reluctant and belated conclusion (p. 94) that profit and not safety was the Bank's aim during the 1819-1837 period. Indeed, the extent to which safety can have been the overriding consideration in the investment policy of the later period is placed in doubt by the gradual concentration of the bulk of the Bank's loans "in a relatively few hands" (p. 123), and by its role in the financing of industry (p. 125).

I do not wish to imply that the authors altogether refrain from criticizing the Board. They do criticize it (pp. 94; 101-102), but not with vigour. One reason for this, I suspect, has been their too great reliance on sources drawn from the archives of the Bank itself (the Minutes and Proceedings of the Board—which contain monthly balance sheets showing assets and liabilities, monthly deposits and withdrawals, and net deposits—and the Minutes of the Bank's Investing Committee). The authors supplement

these with secondary accounts enabling them to argue cogently that the Bank was probably typical of other mutual savings banks of the period, but one looks in vain for correspondence, diaries, newspapers (except for seven citations from *Niles' Register* and two from the Baltimore *Sun*) or other contemporary periodical literature.

Another result of the paucity of contemporary sources used is that the individuality of the Bank fails to emerge from these pages. Nor do its officers and directors become more than the written names of men who once lived, moved, and had their being in the midst of vibrant uncertainties. But this is perhaps a minor criticism on the part of a reader who prefers an appeal to his historical imagination as well as to his intellect. For surely the latter appeal is of fundamental importance. By their series of careful, intensive analyses of various facets of the life of the Savings Bank of Baltimore Payne and Davis have made a significant contribution to our understanding of the economic life of the antebellum period. Had there existed a respectable economic history of Baltimore their contribution would have been even greater: many of their promising ideas had to be left on the brink of non-existing data.

STUART BRUCHEY

Northwestern University

The Farmers Bank: An Historical Account of the President, Directors and Company of The Farmers Bank of the State of Delaware, 1807-1957. By DUDLEY C. LUNT. [Dover: The Farmers Bank of the State of Delaware, 1957.] 308 pp. $10.

It is interesting that the 150th anniversary of the Farmers Bank of the State of Delaware fell in the very year in which the 200th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Hamilton was celebrated. For, as Dudley Lunt observes, the Farmers Bank was created in a Hamiltonian mold—that is, it was fashioned after the form of the Bank of the United States, the child of Hamilton. Like the Bank of the United States it came to have a peculiarly close relationship to the government that chartered it. Over half of its stock is today owned by the State of Delaware, which appoints a minority of its directors and employs it as the official depository and in other ways. Still it is privately managed, for a system of scale voting limits the power of large stockholders, the state especially, in its affairs.

This venerable institution, which a historian of banking recently declared was "perhaps the oldest in the States still operating under its original charter," has been served prominently by a number of men of Maryland origin or connection. Three Henry Ridgelys are numbered among its total of only six presidents. Kensey Johns, like the Ridgelys, descending from an Anne Arundel family, was the first president of the New Castle branch. John Rumsey, from the Eastern Shore, was the first president of the Wilmington branch and coordinator of the activities of the branch

banks at a time when rapid transportation was centering them at the Wilmington branch. He was succeeded by Louis McLane, who somewhat later in his distinguished career bought his wife's family home on the Bohemia River and then, still later, became a thorough-going Marylander when he was elected president of the B. & O. in 1837. A successor of McLane, several administrations removed, was his former law student, James A. Bayard, of Bohemia Manor, Cecil County, who was to become the second prominent U. S. Senator of this name.

Probably the most important administrations in the history of the Farmers Bank were those of the first and third Henry Ridgelys. The first Ridgely, who was also a U. S. Representative and Senator, was president for the long term of forty years (the second Henry Ridgely had a fifty-six-year term of office), and in this time the bank was established with its principal office at Dover and semi-independent branches at Georgetown, New Castle, and Wilmington. Notes were issued, deposits were received, and financial storms were weathered. For one year, in 1810, the bank's operations reached outside Delaware through an insurance agency in Philadelphia.

In the twentieth century occurred a period of reorganization and modernization in the years of and surrounding the administration of another Henry Ridgely, an able lawyer and man of affairs who was blind for most of his life. The effect of this reorganization was to unify the little state that they served. Soon after the death of this third Ridgely president the Farmers Bank was under the professional management of men trained by careers in banking rather than, as in the old tradition, of scions of distinguished Delaware families to whom banking was a side-line to another career. Today the Farmers Bank is expanding to meet the greater credit needs of its state, and though the New Castle branch was liquidated in 1899, other offices have been acquired by merger with local banks in Smyrna, Rehoboth, and Newark.

This history, which was written for the company, is often frustrating to a scholar because of a lack of citations and dates, items he is all the more eager to see because the author has used primary sources and does present much new material. It is episodic in character, with vivid descriptions of some scenes like the opening of subscription books in 1807 and an attempted robbery in 1887. Its binding, typography, and illustrations make it an altogether handsome volume. Seventy pages are devoted to a clear, well-integrated pictorial history, and useful lists of officers appear in the appendix.

JOHN A. MUNROE

University of Delaware

Colonial Living. By EDWIN TUNIS. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co., 1957. 157 pp. $4.95.

Colonial Living is an absorbing recreation of the conditions of daily life in the American colonies by the author-illustrator Edwin Tunis, well

known for his outstanding earlier volumes on *Wheels* and *Weapons.* Written simply enough for young people to enjoy, it merits attention by readers of any age who are interested in the social and technological history of the colonial period.

As its title implies, this book covers all aspects of colonial life from education to economic pursuits, from food to furniture, from sports to styles in clothing, hair dressing, and sleeping arrangements. Interspersed in the lively text are colonial recipes for samp, johnny cake, and pie crust; discussions of how to shoe an ox, make soap, and powder a wig; comments on such colonial innovations as ride and tie, the ha-ha wall, and the petticoat lamp; and understanding observations on the coaches, roads, and inns of the colonial period. The outstanding value of this volume, however, comes from the juxtaposition of text with a profusion of admirable pen-drawings that will enable readers unfamiliar with Sturbridge Village, Jamestown, or Williamsburg to understand perhaps for the first time precisely how colonial life was lived. The pots, truncheons, spinning wheels, and looms of the colonial housewife; the well sweep, flail, cradle, and cow poke of the farmer; the tools of the glassblower, the hatter, the joiner, and the hewer; the mills of the papermaker, sawyer, and miller; the printer's press and the tobacco grower's " prize " are all here illustrated. They are usually drawn in use, and so clearly that even those who may have difficulty with some of the technical terms in the text can appreciate their operation.

Mr. Tunis has divided his discussion into three parts which deal, on a geographical basis, briefly with the initial settlements, and at greater length with settlements in the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century. Of particular interest to this reviewer was the section on the seventeenth century, written in a conscious attempt to restore this all too frequently neglected period to its proper place in colonial development. The author not only examines and contrasts the different patterns of living that emerged in New England, New Netherland, and the Southern Colonies, reflecting the economic pursuits and national backgrounds of their settlers. More important, by emphasizing in all sections the unceasing toil of the colonists, their dogged perseverance, and their endless ingenuity in adapting the gifts of American nature, particularly wood, to their needs, he manages to convey something of the spirit of this early period to a twentieth century reader.

In dealing with the eighteenth century, Mr. Tunis changes his geographical scheme of organization, concentrating first on the frontier back country as found in Pennsylvania, and then on the more settled areas along the Atlantic coast. This arrangement has the merit of highlighting the rapidity with which the refinements of " civilized living " arrived in the coastal colonies to distinguish them sharply from more Westerly settlements where much of the pattern of seventeenth century life was perforce maintained. Unfortunately, it does not allow Mr. Tunis to differentiate, except in a general way, the manners of living of the various classes that had already formed in the urban centers of the East.

Since Mr. Tunis is concerned primarily with a description of colonial life, he does not attempt to deal fully with the complicated question of the basic factors that determined the pattern of this life. The importance of the physical environment with its varying demands and resources is stressed throughout. Of equal significance in Mr. Tunis' eyes is the influence of traditional ways of living brought by the colonists from Europe. This is a factor which Americans tend frequently to underestimate due to lack of knowledge about living conditions in seventeenth century Europe and a rather overblown pride in our forefathers' powers of improvisation. Much of American colonial life from the houses the early settlers built and the clothes they wore to the furniture they made and the games they played, represented a recreation in new surroundings, of the kind of life they had known in Europe. The role of British economic policy in moulding colonial living is noted occasionally but, regrettably, is usually mentioned as a repressive force. Recent research has indicated that it is time to abandon this rather hackneyed view and recognize the fact that much of the economic activity described so vividly by Mr. Tunis was due to the connection with Britain and even to the commercial regulations she imposed.

In his Introduction, Mr. Tunis states that he does not intend to write history, but rather to provide " the stage set for history." The importance of such a stage set, presented here with clarity, vigor, and enthusiasm, is two-fold. Not only does it enable the reader to gain an appreciation of colonial life *per se*, but it also helps him to understand the seedbed of the ideals and ambitions that ultimately culminated in the establishment of an independent nation.

RHODA M. DORSEY

Goucher College

A Guide to Early American Homes. By DOROTHY and RICHARD PRATT. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956. 2 vols. $5.75.

Every traveler desirous of seeing Great Britain's stately homes must use the slender magazine-like pamphlet of 32 pages which lists over 200 houses and castles open to the public, and illustrates 80 of them, and which despite its low price of only half a crown is known as " The Golden Book." It is interesting to compare with this modest publication, cataloguing the carefully guarded jewels of British domestic architecture, the equally useful *Guide to Early American Homes*, in two octavo volumes totalling 459 pages.

The first volume deals with the area north of the Mason and Dixon Line and the Ohio River. It describes no less than 950 homes, of which over 160 are illustrated. The second starts where the first lets off, and continues through the South as far as Arkansas and Missouri. It describes over 850 houses, of which more than 170 are illustrated. Historical

societies and museums are included in the term "homes" if they have early American rooms.

It would be invidious to compare such glorious treasure houses as Chatsworth, Blenheim and Windsor Castle with anything ever built in this simpler land, including even an isolated phenomenon like Biltmore, of which the Guide wryly says, "There is everything here that money can buy." But in compiling the descriptions and the data on how to visit the nearly 2,000 buildings listed—sometimes only the outside may be seen, and at times even then, only from some more hospitable neighbor's land—the authors have done a Herculean task, and done it well. They have added to the delights of travel for all who use the *Guide*. And by so doing they have contributed to the world-wide fight against vandalism, and will aid in the removal of the stigma of provincialism and backwardness from the too numerous parts of this country which, lagging behind more culturally-minded Western Europe where preservation movements are active and strong, permit and even rejoice in the destruction of the Nation's precious architectural heritage.

DOUGLAS GORDON

Baltimore

COUNTERFEITING IN COLONIAL AMERICA. By KENNETH SCOTT. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. xii, 283 pp. $5.

The art of counterfeiting, if one can call it that, is as ancient as money itself. Not simply money as we know it, but even the most primitive forms. The earliest settlers found the Indian adept at passing false strings of wampum. But, as Professor Scott's readable account shows us, the great age of counterfeiting was the eighteenth century when the newly introduced paper money furnished an Eden for men—and some enterprising women—who strove to live by illicit means. Paper money was not only a novel medium of exchange, but most of it was rather simple, even crude, in appearance. Hence it was easier to imitate than the finely engraved bills of today. Moreover conditions in colonial America favored the counterfeiter. Each of the thirteen seaboard provinces had its own paper currency in several denominations, some of it in circulation outside its borders. Still further complexity was added by the practice of piling up new issues different in appearance from the old—the "new tenor" bills which circulated along with earlier issues. Even the experienced merchant could hardly expect to acquire sufficient expertise to spot the bogus bills instantly. No wonder almost every colony had its rings of confederates busily making and passing counterfeit money.

Professor Scott documents the story of colonial counterfeiting with numerous case histories drawn from early court proceedings. His research is another example of the use to which these numerous and largely unmined records can be put. The result is a document in social as well as economic

history. To put the theme of this volume in a sentence, it is the story of a society endeavoring to protect its economy from racketeers.

Scattered throughout the narrative are dozens of deft passages that provide illuminating sidelights. Where does one find such a Villonesque expression of criminal philosophy as in the dying speech of Gilbert Belcher, the silversmith turned counterfeiter: "No gain afforded me so much pleasure as that which I acquired by illicit means." What sardonic pleasure the felons of a Rhode Island counterfeit ring must have derived as they faithfully copied the slogan on so many provincial bills: "To counterfeit is death." In one of the covenants drawn up by a gang to regulate conduct of its members the paper concluded with this gem, "God save the King. Prosper our Progress herein and Preserve us from all Traytors."

On the whole the author appears more concerned with the narrative than with the interpretation of his findings. Successive case histories of the organizations that made and passed false bills form the bulk of the book. In turn we read of the famous counterfeiters of the day. One of the early practitioners was John Potter, the Quaker commissioner for signing the Rhode Island bills, who turned his lawful experience to criminal ends. Samuel Weed and the Derby Gang of Connecticut receive a special chapter. Another is devoted to the exploits of Joseph Bill of the Boston Gang and the following to that personally unpleasant but technically most proficient of colonial counterfeiters, Owen Sullivan, guiding genius of the Dover Money Club. Predominantly the narrative centers about New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. There is a brief chapter on counterfeiting in the South. Virginia currency was so cleverly imitated that Washington's steward feared to take it for corn he had sold. And at a Leedstown race only half the expected betting occurred because Marylanders were unwilling to stake their property against doubtful Virginia money.

Maryland is mentioned chiefly in connection with the doings of the notorious Richard Clarke (active 1704-1708) and with the transported felons of 1770 who immediately presented the public with specimens of their ingenuity, apparently made during the voyage. To find the Maryland story in detail it is necessary to turn to the author's article "Counterfeiting in Colonial Maryland" in this *Magazine*, June, 1956.

Professor Scott brings to his writing extensive research on early American counterfeiting, already embodied in monographs published by the American Numismatic Society. His command of the subject is almost too profound for readers who baulk at masses of relatively unimportant people who come and go through the pages. But the story is well told. And if the connections among the many actors are not always instantly clear, the fault lies with the characters themselves. Even today racketeers on the witness stand have lapses of memory when asked about confederates. A commendatory foreword by U. E. Baughman, Chief, U. S. Secret Service, Treasury Department, reminds us of the similarity of yesterday and today in matters criminal.

AUBREY C. LAND

University of Nebraska

Maryland's Established Church. By NELSON WAITE RIGHTMYER. Baltimore: The Church Historical Society for the Diocese of Maryland. xi, 239 pp. $5.

Colony and state, Maryland has an interesting and significant religious history. Though we know the outlines in a general way, often precise detail does not come readily to mind. If pressed, the informed layman and frequently the specialist in Maryland history cannot bring forth satisfactory answers to many pertinent questions. Mr. Rightmyer's monograph on the established church is therefore welcome as an important contribution toward the complete religious history which may one day be ours.

Like any good piece of work, however, this one can stand on its merits without reference to some ultimate structure of which it may become a part. In eight chapters the author covers the establishment of the Anglican church in Maryland, its functioning, the supervision of the clergy, and some important policy matters that touched on church-state relationships down to the Revolution. Although this essay carries the burden of the argument, and is consequently the focus of the book, two additional sections are also important. The parochial appendix and the biographical appendix furnish detail that will be useful to historians, genealogists, and to those simply interested in the story of their own parish church. This type of data is often not published because it is thought too prosaic or dry. Actually these appendices prove not only interesting reading, but they furnish a wealth of hitherto unavailable data on the people who made the colonial church a going concern.

The plot of the essay turns about the vicissitudes of the established church, which was born in the travail of transition from proprietary to royal government and existed for three quarters of a century at the focus of contending forces in provincial life. Mr. Rightmyer describes this situation as "stalemate." Basically the difficulty stemmed from the uncertainty as to who should control the church. There were conflicting claims—by the Lord Proprietor (under his charter), by the Bishop of London (as episcopal superior), by the laity of Maryland (in default of any other authority). As always in the fascinating history of eighteenth-century Maryland the problem got into politics and into the economic debate that enlivens so many pages of colonial history. Release from these tensions came only with the Revolution and the reconstruction of the church along lines now familiar to Americans.

Mr. Rightmyer has carefully sifted the relevant records for data and he tells the story drawn from them well. The reader emerges with a new appreciation of the position of the church in the eighteenth-century and of the endless complexity of the society to which it ministered. In this volume, as in former published articles (*MdHM*, XLIV), the author has done battle to correct the view that the Anglican clergy were a profligate, insouciant lot, Bennet Allen and a few others to the contrary notwithstanding. His position, and this reviewer subscribes to it, is that the clergymen were in the main decent, responsible people working in con-

ditions not familiar to those with English backgrounds and often very far from ideal. Now that he is conversant with the materials, perhaps we can hope for other volumes that have long been needed, for instance a systematic study of the social work of the established clergy, or to take another example, of the ideas they broadcast during the years of their pastorates. Such books would be notable contributions to the social and intellectual history of the eighteenth century and would add other laurels to the author's crown.

AUBREY C. LAND

University of Nebraska

The Intimate Letters of John Cleves Symmes and His Family. Edited by BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR. Cincinnati: The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, 1956. xxxiii, 174 pp. $4.50.

This small volume supplements the editor's *Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes, Founder of the Miami Purchase* published in 1926. The present collection differs from the previous in that this deals solely with personal materials which picture Judge Symmes and his family and friends against the background of daily life in one of the more important of the early settlements in Ohio. Published on the 125th anniversary of the Society, this book owes its inspiration to Elizabeth G. McPherson of the Library of Congress who compiled a calendar of the papers and recognized the intrinsic literary merit and historical value of these personal letters. Above all, the book makes available the letters of an important family in Western settlement and with Maryland connections.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Riverdale, Maryland

The Courtship of Mr. Lincoln. By RUTH PAINTER RANDALL. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1957. xiv, 219 pp. $3.75.

In this, the third volume of her story of the Lincoln family, Mrs. Randall tells of the life of Mary and Abraham Lincoln between their first meeting in 1839 and their marriage in 1842. As in her previous books (*Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage*, and *Mr. Lincoln's Sons*), the author has once again corrected inaccurate accounts and dispelled distortions. These were originally perpetrated by Lincoln's law partner William Herndon who disliked Mary Lincoln and did all he could to hurt her. The *Courtship* is still another aspect of the Lincoln story which even after a century still appears inexhaustible.

This well-written popular account shows warm understanding of the subjects as portrayed against the background of their times. It has a good bibliography, but no index or citations, although the author assures us she has in her possession the full documentation.

F. F. W.

The Numbered Years, Five Decades at James City. By MARGARET DENNY DIXON. Richmond: Garrett & Massie, Inc., 1957. 246 pp. $3.50.

This is the story of life on Jamestown Island from 1629 through 1676. It is a continuation, though not a sequel, of the author's earlier book *The Princess of the Old Dominion*, which tells the story of Pocahontas. Although both of these works are fiction, the author has based them on a thorough study of Jamestown history. Mrs. Dixon has written an interesting book, suitable for young readers as well as mature ones.

Woodworking Tools at Shelburne Museum. By FRANK H. WILDUNG. Museum Pamphlet Series, Number 3. Shelburne, Vermont: Shelburne Museum, 1957. 79 pp.

This brief history of woodworking is an unusually fine contribution to the history of arts and crafts. It is beautifully illustrated, well organized and written, and should serve as a model for further publications in this field. One illustration in particular should interest Maryland readers. It is the interior of a harnessmaker's shop which was established in Hagerstown right after the Civil War, and it is now on exhibit in Shelburne Museum.

The following Church histories have been received and will be of interest to many of our readers:

Bridge Across Four Centuries, The Clergy of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Md. Compiled by FREDERICK WARD KATES. St. Paul's Parish, 1957. 56 pp.

A History of Grace Methodist Church 1868-1957. By GEORGE W. DEXTER. [Baltimore:] George W. King Printing Co., [1957], 72 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

House and Garden Pilgrimage—The 1958 tour of Maryland houses and gardens commences on Tuesday, April 29, with the Green Spring Valley, and concludes with the visit to Prince George's County on Sunday, May 11. Tour books giving full information may be obtained from Pilgrimage Headquarters, 217 Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore 2, Md., VErnon-7-0228. Information and tickets are also available at the American Automobile Association Headquarters, 1712 G St., N. W., Washington, D. C. An all-day forum will be held on Monday, May 5, at the Baltimore Museum of Art, under the auspices of the Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland, the Baltimore Museum, and the Maryland Historical Society. Programs may be obtained from Pilgrimage headquarters. Afternoon speakers will be Mr. G. Carroll Lindsay, of the Smithsonian Institution, who will talk on " The Chippendale Style in America," and Miss Kathryn C. Buhler, of the Boston Museum of Art, whose subject will be " Original Aspects of American Silver." At the evening session Mr. John G. Phillips, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, will talk on " China Trade Porcelain."

Open House in Salem County, New Jersey—The historic homes of Salem County, New Jersey, which lies along the Delaware River below Philadelphia, will be open to visitors April 26 and 27, under the auspices of the Salem County Historical Society. Further information may be obtained from Mrs. Jesse Slingluff, Jr., 104 West Oakdale Road, Baltimore 10, Md., TUxedo-9-1565.

Correction—In the September, 1957, issue of the *Magazine*, in line 4, second paragraph, page 245, *1799* should read *1779*.

Greenough's " Medora "—In the March, 1956, issue of the *Magazine*, Dr. Nathalia Wright remarks in her discussion of the statue of Medora executed by Horatio Greenough (" Horatio Greenough, Boston Sculptor, and Robert Gilmor, Jr., His Baltimore Patron ") that the fate of the statue is unknown (see pages 5-10, 13). The *Medora* is now in the possession of Mrs. Sumner A. Parker, Brooklandville, Maryland.

First and Second Maryland Infantry, CSA—I am interested in examining letters or diaries of members or associates of the First or Second Maryland Infantry, Confederate States Army. I have references to a diary by Spence Monroe Grayson, a journal by Daniel A. Fenton, a fuller history by Goldsborough of Maryland Confederate units, but none of these can now be located. And where are the letters of Captain William H. Murray? I would be grateful for the privilege of examining any such material.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE,
Director, War Records Division, Maryland Historical Society

Brooks—Information is sought concerning the whereabouts of books and papers of Jehiel Brooks. From about 1830 to 1834 he was United States Indian Agent with the Caddo Nation of Indians in north-west Louisiana and south-west Arkansas in what are now Caddo Parish and Miller county, respectively. In 1835 he was sole Commissioner under Andrew Jackson, then President of the United States, and Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, to negotiate the July 1, 1835, treaty between the Caddo Indians and the United States. Brooks later purchased an island in Red River, near Shreveport, included in the treaty cession, from the half-breed Grappes and in 1848 won a lawsuit in the Supreme Court of the United States which had been brought against him by the United States. He appears to have been a citizen of Maryland, probably residing near the District of Columbia. Information concerning him or his papers will be greatly appreciated.

O. R. MCGUIRE,
Southern Building, Washington 5, D. C.

Carmichael—In connection with the writing of the history of the United States Supreme Court during the period when Roger B. Taney was Chief Justice, I am seeking the papers of Judge Richard Bennett Carmichael and also those of other Maryland judges and lawyers who were active at that time.

Professor CARL BRENT SWISHER,
The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, Md.

Virginia-Maryland Families—In the years 1695-1700 there were many connections between Stafford County, Va., and Baltimore County, Md., names. Is anyone working on these connections?

MRS. HENRY MONTGOMERY,
303 Hurley Ave., Warwick, Va.

Sewall-Sewell—For many years a tradition has existed in the family of Captain John Sewell of Harford County (the great-great grandfather of the writer) and in the families of his brothers, Basil Sewell of Talbot County (d. 1802) and Clement Sewell of Queen Anne's County (d. 1795), that these families were descended from Major Nicholas Sewall of St. Mary's County. The noted genealogists Dr. Christopher Johnston and Francis B. Culver stated that Captain John Sewell was not related to the St. Mary's County family, but recently, in collaboration with Mrs. Charles S. Kerr of Wynnewood, Pennsylvania, I discovered in the will of William Burgess, Jr. (Wills-Liber 6, folio 102 at Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.) that Major Nicholas Sewall had a son William Sewall. This William was the father of Captain John Sewell, Basil Sewell and Clement Sewell. John Sewell was one of the administrators of his father's estate. (Liber 446, fol. 322 and Liber 49, fol. 553.) We also discovered that John Sewell had a brother William Sewell. (See Brumbaugh's *Maryland Records,* II, 390.)

Harry Y. Reifsnyder,
5705 Elgin Avenue, Pittsburgh 6, Pa.

Fite, Vogt, Voigt—Information would be appreciated which would establish the given and maiden names of the wife of Henry Fite, who landed at Philadelphia, September 28, 1749, and whose name first appears in the land records of Maryland in 1763 as " of Frederick County." Henry Fite died intestate, October 28, 1789. In the Inventory and Accounts of his estate, he is described as being of Baltimore county. His wife's name does not appear in these records and it is thought that she pre-deceased Henry between 1772 and 1789.

Peter Van der Poel,
7809 Chelsea St., Ruxton 4, Md.

Rewards—$600 for first authentic proofs is offered by James W. Emison, Citizens Trust Building, Vincennes, Indiana. See page numbers in his book, (*) *The Emison Families*, Revised, 1954 (available in libraries throughout the country), and manuscript, (**) " Posey-Wade Harrison Families," D. A. R. Library, Washington, D. C.: $100 for parents of Jonathan Holmes (1716-1803) and his wife Jennet (* p. 161): $100 for line of descent to William Weston Clarke (1722-1808) from Jeremey Clarke (1605-1651) or his brothers (** pp. 166-74): $100 for parents of Richard Posey (ca. 1733-1820) (probably John & Mary, not Thomas) (* p. 178). Also $100 for parents of his wife, Elizabeth Wade (** pp. C176-C-178-C180T): $100 for line of descent to Sarah DeWitt (1730-1792) (Wife of William Allen, b. 1731) from Charles DeWitt, Orange Co., Va., Will

Bk. 1-153; 1741. (* p. 183) (** p. 186A): $100 for parents and first wife of Thomas Sinclair, d. 1818 (* p. 240): $100 for the father, and his parents, of Susannah Porter (1770-1856) (* p. 260).

JAMES W. EMISON,
Citizens Trust Building, Vincennes, Ind.

Dulin—I am seeking information on the Dulin family of Maryland before 1717; their connection with Dulins of Essex County, Virginia; and the descendants of Dr. A. F. Dulin of Baltimore (d. 1891).

MRS. FRANK M. STEWART,
908 Malcolm Ave., Los Angeles 24, Cal.

Wilson, Selby—Data is wanted on Stephen Wilson, Sr. His daughter, Sarah, was willed property, " Spraddock's Forest," Prince George's County, Maryland, by Joshua Wilson Selby in 1815. His son, Stephen, Jr. (1786-1869) married Sarah Selby, daughter of William Wilson Selby, in 1812.

MRS. CLEM WILSON,
Route 3, Box 123, Hot Springs, Ark.

Ruddach—I have considerable data on this family, and I would like to contact any descendants who might know the maiden name and place of burial of Rebecca Ruddach.

MILDRED RUDDACH BOBINGER,
5883 North Four Mile Run Drive, Arlington 5, Va.

Baltzell—George Jacob Baltzell came from Germany to Frederick County in 1763 at the age of about twenty years. He moved to Morgantown, West Virginia, in 1796. I am trying to find out where, when and whom he married. Also where were his children born.

MRS. B. R. ADDENBROOKE,
1327 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6. D. C.

Merriken-Earickson—I am seeking information about Anne Merriken, who was born in Anne Arundel County on December 28, 1771. She married (1) Richard Todd, January 31, 1788, (2) John Gray, (3) Joshua Wright, February 2, 1795, and (4) William Earickson, September 3, 1800. I have a deed from Anne and William Earickson of Anne Arundel County, August 13, 1808, and would like to know what happened to Anne after that date.

MISS FREDERICA H. TRAPNELL,
1510 Delaware Ave., Wilmington 6, Del.

CONTRIBUTORS

JAMES PARTON'S distinguished career includes service as an editor of *Time*, editor and publisher of the *Los Angeles Independent*, consultant to United States Department of State, and Director of the New York *Herald Tribune*. In 1954 he founded the American Publishing Company, Inc., and launched *American Heritage, the Magazine of History.*

ROBERT L. ALEXANDER is studying Godefroy and other French artists and architects in this country during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. He is a candidate for the doctoral degree in art history at New York University and is instructor in fine arts at the University of Pittsburgh.

WILLIAM B. MARYE, Corresponding Secretary of the Maryland Historical Society, is one of the leading authorities on the local history and archeology of Maryland. His contributions to the *Maryland Historical Magazine* have included articles on the sea coast of Maryland, the pre-settlement period of western Maryland, Maryland Indians, and natural history.

STUART BRUCHEY is Assistant Professor of Economic History of Northwestern University. His book, *Robert Oliver, Merchant of Baltimore, 1783-1819*, was based to a large extent on records in the Maryland Historical Society. The Taney manuscript came to his attention in connection with further studies he is undertaking in Maryland economic history.

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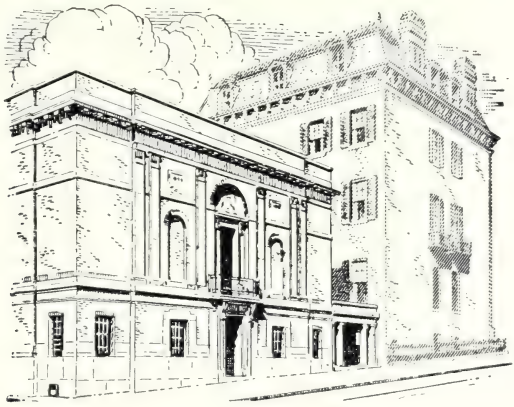

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(see page 177)

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RICHARD WALSH, *Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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George L. Radcliffe, President; James W. Foster, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

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2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other historical agencies; the *Archives of Maryland* and volumes of the series "Maryland in World War II" under the authority of the State; and the series of useful historical books entitled "Studies in Maryland History."

Annual dues of the Society are $8 and up, life membership $150. Subscriptions to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, are included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 1. *June 15 to Sept. 15*, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 1. Closed Saturdays in August.

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to join the Maryland Historical Society will be sent by the president to those who care to join. Or names of prospective members may be sent directly without invitation. Cards of notification will be sent to all new members upon election.

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The following persons wish to become members of the Society:

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 53 JUNE, 1958 Number 2

ROGER B. TANEY'S "BANK WAR MANUSCRIPT"

Edited by CARL BRENT SWISHER *

ONE of the memorable struggles of American history was the "Bank War" which took place during the presidency of Andrew Jackson in the 1830's. Here the second Bank of the United States pitted its strength against the Jackson administration in an attempt to force the government to renew its charter. In the election of 1832 the Bank aligned itself with Henry Clay and the Whig party against Jackson, who sought re-election through the party which then bore his own name. The Bank justified its political activities on the ground that the country needed its services to maintain a sound currency and a sound economy. The Jacksonians attacked it on the ground of political

* Edited with the aid of Idella Gwatkin Swisher.

Deleted parts of the manuscript which were legible and seemed worthy of inclusion have been italicized and placed within angle brackets. Minor changes have been made in the text, such as the writing out of abbreviations for *and*.

intervention outside the legitimate range of the rights and duties of an agency chartered by the federal government and as a malevolent and arbitrary force which intimidated state banks and private business at will and created artificial panics among the people when doing so promoted its own interests.

Re-elected in spite of the efforts of the Bank, Jackson and his advisers set out thereafter to trim its power to safer dimensions by ceasing to use it as the depository of federal funds. The " removal of the deposits " stirred again the flames of political warfare in the legislative and executive branches. The fierceness of the battle and the ultimately complete defeat of the political forces of the Bank of the United States and the Whig element supporting it brought an end of national banking in the United States until near the close of the Civil War and thereafter kept national banking decentralized until establishment of the Federal Reserve System in 1913. The struggle conditioned the careers of many statesmen. Outstanding among those influenced was Roger B. Taney of Maryland, who in 1831 had given up his position as Attorney General of Maryland to become Attorney General of the United States. As an incident of the " Bank War " he was made head of the Treasury Department in 1833 on a recess appointment, and was rejected by the Senate in 1834 when his name was belatedly presented for confirmation after he had carried out the program of removal of the deposits. His support of Jackson, in a position which the hostile Daniel Webster labeled as that of a " pliant instrument," in 1835 prevented his confirmation as Associate Justice of the United States. In 1836, however, after changes in the personnel of the Senate, he was confirmed in the position of Chief Justice, a position which he held until his death in 1864.

With the possible exception of the part he played in the decision in the Dred Scott Case, Taney's experience in the " Bank War " was the outstanding experience of his mature years, and it continued to influence his thinking long after its termination. In 1839, in a document transcribed and edited in 1958 by Stuart Bruchey for the March issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*,[1] Taney detailed exciting incidents of one phase of the struggle which was peculiarly important for local Maryland history. Ten

[1] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LIII (1958), 58-74, contains the first part of this document. The current issue contains the remainder.

years later the broader story was still fresh in his mind. In 1849 Taney and his family began a series of summer vacation trips to Old Point Comfort, not far from Norfolk, Virginia, but nevertheless well isolated for rest and recollection. There, prodded by the request of Francis P. Blair, an ardent Jacksonian, that he record this exciting and important phase of the history of the Jackson administration,[2] Taney took up his quill pen and began the story recorded below.

The end of the 1849 vacation saw the project unfinished. When Taney returned to Old Point Comfort in 1850 the drive to authorship had dissipated. "I think I told you," he wrote to his son-in-law, J. Mason Campbell, "that I would bring with me a plentiful supply of paper, pens, etc., and amuse myself while here in writing Memoirs which I have so long talked about. But an old man's habit becomes a part of his nature. I have been accustomed whenever I sit down to write anything, to have a comfortable chair, a roomy and firm table and good pens:—most commonly ready made to my hand. And these conveniences have become essential, and I feel unwilling to write even a letter, upon the little cramped up shaking table in my room, with bad pens which I cannot make better (for I could never acquire the art of making a pen) and with an inkstand which holds about ink enough to write one letter of reasonable length and nothing more. And so I have not written a word on the Memoir. . . ." [3]

From this point we know but little of what happened to the document. In 1854, at the same vacation spot, Taney began the writing of his autobiography, part of which was eventually published as the first chapter of Samuel Tyler's *Memoir of Roger Brooke Taney, LL. D.* (1872). The "Bank War Manuscript," however, was not there published. At some stage it disappeared altogether, and was rediscovered in 1929 when at a public sale in Atlanta, Georgia, a locksmith purchased an old safe. Inside he found a mass of letters and other papers. He destroyed the letters, but saved a bound manuscript, which proved to be Taney's longhand account, together with an incomplete reproduction in the hand of a copyist, made evidently on the instructions of Samuel

[2] See Francis P. Blair to Martin Van Buren, November 11, 1949, Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress.

[3] Taney to J. Mason Campbell, July 27, 1850, in possession of the editor.

Tyler. The Library of Congress acquired the document, which is available for examination in its Division of Manuscripts.

The manuscript, for all its incompleteness, greatly enriches the history of the period of the Jackson administration and illuminates the life and personality of the man who was to head the Supreme Court during a critical period of American history. Extensive use of it has been made only in the biography of Taney by Carl Brent Swisher, a book which is now out of print. The manuscript is here published in full, in the belief that the running story as told by Taney is eminently worthy of presentation. Use is made of the original manuscript in Taney's hand, with words and passages hard to decipher and oftentimes with parts struck out, and also of those pages clearly transcribed by a copyist.

Sept. 14th, 1849

I have always intended to write an account of the part I took in opposition to the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States. But infirm health and the fatigue of official duties have heretofore compelled me to postpone it; and I have found it necessary to pass the ⟨*short*⟩ vacations which are allowed me during some of the summer months in recreation and exercise in order to recover strength for the renewal of my judicial labors. Yet I have always felt that justice to myself and to Genl. Jackson,[4] and to the truth of history required of me the work I now commence. I know not whether I shall be able to complete it. But being at this time in the country with my family, at a quiet place, and without any engagements of business for a few weeks it will give me pleasant occupation to pass a few hours every day in recalling to memory and narrating the incidents of that memorable struggle made by the Bank, to ⟨*overthrow the administration of Genl. Jackson because he was opposed to the renewal of its charter.*⟩ compel the government to renew its charter.

As I now look back to that trying period, after the lapse of sixteen years, and remember the scene of distress and ruin and alarm which pervaded the Union and the constancy and courage with which the administration was supported by a majority of the people of the U. States, my confidence in the intelligence and public spirit of the American people gathers new strength, and my hopes become firmer that our free institution will be perpetuated. It was a fearful scene of dismay and ruin for some months after the decisive measure was adopted of removing the deposits of the public money from the Bank. It then put forth its whole strength, and its power was every where felt. The currency of the country consisted altogether of paper. There was no gold in circulation and very little in the country either hoarded or in the vaults of the Banks. The little specie

[4] Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, 1829-1837.

in circulation consisted of silver. But silver is too heavy to become the general currency of a commercial community, and is hardly ever used, except for very small transactions or the purposes of change. And when the paper currency was suddenly and violently contracted there was nothing to take it place. This sudden contraction was made by the Bank soon after the deposits were removed; and the distress and ruin which followed is without example in the history of the U. States.

It produced more real suffering than the last war with Great Britain, when her fleets took possession of our waters and her armies were landed on our shores.

It was not confined to particular places but was felt in every state. Property became unsalable. The price of produce and labor was reduced to the lowest point—commerce was embarrassed and confused, thousand and ten thousands of industrious laborers thrown out of employment, and a multitude of persons who had supposed themselves to be in affluent circumstances and in truth were so, were suddenly reduced to poverty and want. A small debt often ruined the possessor of a large property, Nobody prospered but those who ⟨*had the means and were willing to*⟩ could speculate upon the distress of others, or profited by the confusion in the value of the paper of the State Banks which grew out of this general want of confidence.

The power of the Bank of the U. States was not then nor is it I believe now fully understood and appreciated by the mass of the community. Also there are I doubt not many intelligent persons who at this time cannot comprehend how a mere Bank was capable of producing such a wide spread scene of ruin extending as it did from one end of the Union to the other. And as it followed immediately after the removal of the deposites many yet suppose that the removal produced it; and that the evils which the country endured were occasioned by a derangement of the currency necessarily arising from this act of the Administration. It was the policy of the Bank to create this impression, and it was vehemently insisted on during the contest, by the newspapers and others under the influence of the Bank; and reechoed day after day by the politicians in and out of the public councils who were opposed to Genl. Jackson and striving to overthrow his administration. The removal of the deposites was called tampering with the currency! And it is one of the remarkable events of that period and shows how far party spirit and disappointed ambition will carry men, when heated in the contest, that many who were avowedly opposed to the recharter of the Bank and deemed it not only inexpedient but unconstitutional, united with it in this war upon the administration and demanded the restoration of the deposites, as the only cure for the public distress. Yet it was obvious that if the administration was overthrown on this ground the recharter of the Bank was inevitable. Yet the removal of the deposites did not of itself produce the slightest commercial embarrassment or derangement of currency. They were intended to be gradually withdrawn, according to the wants of the government; and if ever that mode of withdrawal had been found more rapid

than the Bank could conveniently bear, the public wants would have been supplied as far as was proper from the new depositories. There was not the least necessity therefore for a sudden and violent contraction by the Bank of its discounts on issues of paper. It was moreover the duty of the Bank to keep itself ready at all times to pay over the whole amount of the money it held on deposit for the government upon reasonable notice. And not only to pay it over, but to do so without disordering in any degree the monetary concerns of the country. For in addition to the current expenses of the government, there was a subsisting public debt bearing interest which the administration were bound to pay off as early as practicable; and this required the government to use all the public money that could be spared from the ordinary expenses; whenever the surplus was large enough to make it important. Indeed it was only a short time before, that the government directed the whole surplus then on deposit to be paid by the Bank in discharge of the 3 percent stocks ⟨*which it was anxious to reduce*⟩ how the Bank endeavored to evade that order I need not now say, nor is it important to the matter in hand. I mention this order to pay away the whole surplus for the purpose of showing that while any portion of the public debt remained unsatisfied, the Bank had no right to suppose that a large deposit, would be suffered to remain for any length of time:—and that it was its duty therefore as the fiscal agent of the government, to regulate its discounts and issues so as to be ready at all times to pay over upon reasonable notice the whole amount due to the government without subjecting the community to any sensible inconvenience. If it was not in a condition to do this when the deposites were removed, it had failed in its duty to the public and did not deserve a recharter.

Undoubtedly while the Bank of the U. States continued to be the depostory, the collection of public revenue gave it great advantages and enabled it to discount and to issue its notes to a larger amount than it could safely do after the deposites were removed. And the gradual removal would therefore create the necessity for a gradual curtailment. But the void thus created could have been easily filled up by the new depositories without any sensible pressure upon the business of the community, or any inconvenient diminuition of the circulating medium. And if the charter was not to be renewed the time if it had not come was certainly, near at hand when this curtailment should have been begun. The Bank indeed had asserted that the time had come nearly a year before. For in its petition for the renewal of its charter, at the session of 1831, 1832, which was determined and prepared before congress met it assigns as the reason for asking a decision at that time, that if the charter was not to be renewed, it was time to prepare for winding up the affairs of the Bank by beginning at once to curtail its business. In removing the deposites the government acted upon the ground that the charter was not to be renewed. It therefore merely compelled the Bank, to do, what it had asserted that it would be its duty and its interest and was its own determination to do under such circumstances.

It is well known that the bill for the renewal of the charter which passed upon this petition was vetoed by Genl. Jackson and his reasons stated at length. And that in the election for President in the fall of 1832 this veto was made the principal ground of opposition to his reelection. His opponent Mr. Clay [5] was avowedly in favor of the Bank. Genl. Jackson was however reelected by an overwhelming majority of the electoral votes, and as there was not a possibility that the Bank could obtain at any time a majority of two thirds of both Houses in its favor, the reelection of Genl. Jackson was decisive against the recharter. He had officially declared that he regarded the institution as unconstitutional as well as inexpedient, and as the existing charter expired one year before his second term would end, the question as to the renewal was in fact finally decided and it was the duty of the Bank according to its own showing ⟨*immediately after his reelection*⟩ to begin to wind up its affairs.

The motive assigned in the petition was however a mere pretext. The Bank had no intention of beginning to wind up, if it was defeated. The real object in selecting that time to bring in the question of recharter, was to prevent the relection of Genl. Jackson. It was a political movement. Mr. Biddle [6] who was then the President of the Bank, had been long enough in office, to feel that it was capable of exercising great influence in the councils of the nation and upon the community generally. He possessed an absolute control over a majority of the Board of Directors, and regulated the movements and business of the institution. In point of fact, (as most commonly happens in institutions of that kind), by means of proxies in his hands or in the hands of others in whom he confided he himself selected twenty Directors which the stockholders were authorized to elect; while the government could appoint but five. The whole power of the corporation was therefore centered in himself. He was an ambitious man; full of vanity, and loved power. He believed that by bring[ing] the weight and influence of the Bank into the approaching election he could defeat Genl. Jackson, and he wished political aspirants to see that he had defeated him.—He led the Bank therefore into the political arena determined to show its strength in political contests. The event proved that he overrated it. But he made the struggle a severe one. And although the majority for Genl. Jackson in the electoral college was very large, yet the contest in several of the states was a close one, and was considered for a time as by no means free from doubt.

The Bank was undoubtedly capable of exercising great influence and possessed power with which no corporation can be safely trusted in a republican government.

It had already established Branches at the principal places of business throughout the United States. These Branches were all governed by the

[5] Senator Henry Clay, of Kentucky, the Whig candidate for the presidency in 1832.

[6] Nicholas Biddle, of Pennsylvania, president of the Bank of the United States from 1823 to 1839.

central power in Philadelphia ⟨*and could be made to move in concert at any moment*⟩ and of course always acted in perfect harmony and concert. And the Bank could make itself felt at the same moment in every part of the U. States.

It issued notes payable at some one of these branches, and for which specie could be demanded nowhere else. Yet as these notes were by the charter of the Bank made receivable everywhere in payment of public dues, they readily circulated all over the Union, no matter how distant from the place at which they were made payable. It was the policy of the central Bank and its Branches to put in circulation as far as they could notes made payable at distant places. And it was enabled by this means to keep out a larger circulation and transact a much larger business, than its actual subsisting means of redemption would have justified. Discounts were freely made at the Southern and Western Branches, where it was known that the notes would be disbursed in the importing cities where the revenue was collected. Unless these discounts exceeded all reasonable bounds, there could be little danger of a run upon the mother Bank or any one of its Branches. The pledges of the government to receive them in payment for duties, lands and all other public demands made the U. States in effect responsible for the payment of every note issued. This guaranty of U. States sustained the credit of these notes, at the most distant places. And if by any means a large amount accumulated in the hand of an individual for which he desired to obtain species, it was always his interest to submit to a small discount rather than incur the expense and hazard of sending for the specie to a distant Branch. Upon examining the accounts of the Bank it will be be found, that a very large amount of these notes were made payable at places to which the course of trade would hardly ever return them. There was a very large amount of them I recollect made payable at the Branch at Fayetteville, in North Carolina. And before the invention or railroads, very few would have been willing to travel to Fayetteville for specie, from any one of the principal importing cities, and would have prefered paying a considerable discount. These Branch notes and the guarantee of the government, gave the Bank great power over the business concerns of the country. It enabled it to expand its issues suddenly and to an immense amount when it desired to create an abundance in the circulation medium. And could create a pressure by as suddenly contracting, when a pressure upon the public was a part of the policy. This immense machine in all its parts moved at the same moment according to the unchecked will of one man. These privileges would not have been so formidable, if the Bank and its Branches had not been the depositories of the public. This daily filled its vaults and those of its Branches with the notes of different State Banks paid in for duties or for lands; or the public demands. And as the mother Bank and Branches were not bound to redeem notes made payable at another Branch, they were not obliged to receive them in the settlement of their accounts with the State Banks. They might demand the specie from the State Banks although actually debtor to it, provided the notes it offered were

not made payable at that particular Branch. And this power was freely exercised, especially toward the Banks which it did not chose to patronize.

These privileges combined placed every State Bank in the commercial cities at its mercy. It could shake the credit of any State Bank and cripple its business, by refusing its notes in payment of duties upon the ground that it did not regard it as safe. And it could compel any one of them to stop payment by holding up for a time its notes received for reissue at the various Branches and then suddenly demanding specie and refusing to receive its own notes in exchange, if not payable at that place.

The Bank itself was fully aware of this power. In a letter of Mr. Biddle to the Chairman of a committee of the Senate written some time before the question of recharter was brought before congress he states with great confidence, that it had always been in the power of the Bank of the U. States to break any State Bank it pleased; and the tone of his letter seemed to imply that he thought himself entitled to credit for his forbearance.

This statement of the power of the Bank ought in my opinion to have been of itself sufficient to prevent the renewal of the charter. It certainly would have been a most dangerous experiment to continue the existence of a monster admitted to be capable of swallowing up the whole of the State Banks. It made the existence of the State institutions dependent upon the will of a single individual. And all the advantages ascribed to the Bank of the U. States if they had been readily founded in truth, would not have compensated for the destruction of the hundreds of millions of property vested in stocks of State Banks, and the notes they had issued. As to its forbearance, it had been so crippled by its own misconduct in the early years of its existence that its power over the State Banks for some time was not very formidable. For a time indeed it needed their good will and support. And after it had recovered and reestablished its strength, its charter had but a few years to run; and it was not a time to bring upon itself the united hostility of the State institutions and the multitude of persons interested in them when it must soon ask for a renewal of its own existence. What would have happened if a recharter for twenty and thirty years had been obtained it is impossible now to say. But I believed as soon as I read Mr. Biddle's letter and believe now, that it would gradually have compelled every State Bank in the Union to wind up. His statement shows that the matter had been thought of—and that the manner in which it could be done was well understood.

The number of individuals too who were immediately within the range of its influence was immense. It had established a Branch in every State with the exception perhaps of two or three which had been but recently admitted. The Directors in all of these Branches were appointed by the mother Bank at Philadelphia and were subject to its orders. Their privileges, as well as the emoluments of the officers of the Branch were regulated by the same authority. In every instance one or more of the most eminent lawyers in the state was retained as its counsel. And at each of these Branches loans to a large amount were made, bills discounted, and other

pecuniary facilities afforded to those whom the mother Bank, or the Directors of the Branch wished to favor.

It will be readily imagined that all of these persons would be strongly tempted to advocate the renewal of the charter. Many of the debtors would look with some dismay to the loss of their usual accommodations; and the Directors and officers be most unwilling to part with the advantages and emoluments which their positions afforded them. They would with the usual infirmity of man be very apt to think that an insitution from which they themselves were deriving so much benefit, could not be very injurious to the community. And being always selected from men of high standing in society they were capable of exerting great influence in elections. Upon this great body of men spreading all over the Union, composed of debtors,—favored individuals—directors—officers—counsel and attornies, and their numerous connections and friends, the Bank naturally supposed it might rely in the contest upon which it determined to enter. With but very few exceptions it was not disappointed in its calculations. One exception however seems to be sufficiently remarkable to be remembered. John White was the Cashier of the Baltimore Branch. He did his duty so faithfully and ably that they did not venture to remove him. Yet he always openly avowed his opinion that the charter of the Bank as it then stood ought not to be renewed. And although he very properly took no active part in the elections yet he openly voted for Genl. Jackson, and for his friends throughout the contest.

⟨It had increased its power over the currency and over the State Banks by a manifest evasion of its charter.⟩ The establishing of one of these Branches, while it increased the power of the Bank, and placed the state institutions at its mercy, cost the Bank little and required no drain of specie from the mother Bank, or any Branch previously established. Nothing more was necessary than to select some dozen Directors upon whom it supposed it could rely, select a President, Cashier and such other officers as it chose to appoint and fix their salaries, and sent to it large bundles of notes made payable at the mother Bank or other Branches, and the new Branch was at once completely established. Not a dollar of specie was necessary. The Branch proceeded to discount notes and purchase bills, and to pay out the notes which the central Bank had forwarded. The guaranty of the government made these notes current, and they could not be returned to the Branch because they were all made payable elsewhere. The collection of the revenue would soon bring into their vaults a sufficient amount of the paper of the State Banks, for which species could be demanded and obtained. And when the coffers of the Branch were by this means sufficiently filled to meet expected calls, notes were then issued by the mother Bank payable at that Branch, and put in circulation at some distant place where they would probably be used in payments to the government and be very slowly returned upon the Branch. And these Branches it continued to establish, when its own character had but a few years to run.

Besides these advantages a multitude of intelligent business men who had not carefully looked into its operations had unlimited confidence in the safety of the Bank,—and supposed it in that respect to contrast very

favorably with the State Banks. They saw that its notes were received without hesitation in every part of the Union, while the notes of the State institutions, could not be circulated except at a loss out of their immediate neighborhood. And without looking to the charter of the Bank of the United States, which made the government ultimately responsible for every note it might issue, they imputed the superior credit of its notes, to its superior management, and the supervision which it supposed the government had an opportunity of exercising over it. They regarded the universal credit given to its notes as proofs of prudent and upright management, overlooking the real foundation of this credit, which was the obligation of the United States to redeem them. They could not materially depreciate, unless the country was so flooded with them, that the whole revenue of the country could not in a reasonable time absorb them. Yet this mistaken confidence added very much [to] the power of the Bank, in a controversy which from the nature of our government was ultimately to be decided by public opinion and the votes of the people.

The Bank too had availed itself of this confidence to increase its power over the circulating medium and over the State Banks by palpable evasion of one of the provisions of its charter. The charter authorized it to issue notes of a denomination as low as five dollars signed by the President and countersigned by the Cashier. A great portion of the circulating medium consisted of five dollar notes. They were more convenient and more used in the ordinary daily business of the community and I am inclined to think must have amounted nearly to one half of the whole amount of the paper in circulation. I have no tables before me and cannot therefore speak with certainty. Nor could the exact proportion be ascertained without returns from all the State Banks.

When I speak of the circulating medium, I mean the notes used in the daily and ordinary concerns of business, and which are continually passing from hand to hand, and generally remain out for a long time without being returned upon the Bank for redemption. I think I have not over estimated the proportion which the five dollar notes formed of this description of currency.

The Bank of the U. States, could not under its charter avail itself of this circulation, to any great extent, for the labor of signing such a number of notes as would be necessary to make the amount important, was more than the President and Cashier could well undergo in addition to their other duties. Certainly Mr. Biddle with his aspiring views and gigantic plans was not a man to sit at his desk month after month to sign five dollar notes in number sufficient to supply the wants of the whole Union for that description of paper. It had therefore been supplied for some years by the local Banks. But it was for the interest of the Bank to engross if it could this circulation. For it would enable it to keep in circulation a much larger amount of paper, and thus increase its business and its profits. And what was still more important to it with its views of obtaining power over the business of the country it would give it more effectually the control of the currency, and make its power more sensibly

and universally felt when it thought proper to increase or diminish the circulation medium. It therefore contrived, in place of the five dollar notes authorized by its charter to issue what it called branch drafts:—that is one of its Branches drew a bill on another Branch for five dollars, payable to some person or Bearer, or perhaps in some instances payable to one of its own officers or to his order and indorsed by him in his official character. I am not sure as to the exact form of these Branch Drafts, as it is some years since I have seen one. But they were in the one or the other of the two forms above mentioned. They were printed on paper and in type so as to look like Bank notes. And without being even accepted by the Branch on which they were drawn, they were paid out and put in circulation as money, like their other notes. These drafts made by the Branches upon each other did not upon the face of them bind the Bank to pay them at any place, for as I have said they were not generally, if ever, accepted by the Branch on which they were drawn, and there might have been some difficulty in maintaining a suit for them against the Branch that issued them or anyone else. For they were passed from hand to hand for years without being presented to the Branch on which they were drawn; and the one that drew them could not be sued; for it was not a corporation. The Bank itself that is to say the corporation was not a party to them;—and neither drew, nor accepted nor promised to pay them. Yet it had influence enough to obtain an order from the Treasury Department directing them to be received in all cases as money in payment for government dues. And when this was done, they readily passed current in individual transaction; and shared in the general confidence reposed every where in the notes of the Bank. Indeed the community generally hardly understood the difference between these Branch Drafts, and the notes of the Bank, and received them with the same readiness and regarded them as equally safe. At the time of which I am speaking these drafts had been put in circulation to an immense amount, and constituted an important portion of the currency of the country. And it is no small proof of the power which the Bank had acquired, that it was able to circulate as money, these issues, obviously in fraud of the law to which it owed its existence and for the payment of which it was difficult to say who was responsible, or where the holder had a right to apply. It was however one of the usual fruits of a currency entirely of paper. For when that is the case, men in their ordinary business take anything they find circulating in the form of paper money—without inquiring whether it will be paid or not—and indeed often without the means of ascertaining the fact if they were disposed to inquire.—The party takes it, not because he supposes it will be paid on demand; for he does not intend to demand payment: but because he supposes he can pass it away as money when he proposes to use it. This is one of the many evils of a paper currency. Notes of no real value are confounded with the good ones, and the unwary and ignorant cheated.

This ingenious contrivance of the Bank enabled it to palm upon the public, notes for which the government was certainly not responsible,—and which the Bank itself might refuse to pay without incurring the

penalty of stopping specie payments. These Branch notes were of course never received from a State Bank in the settlement of balances, even by the Branch that issued them; except only as a matter of favor to the state institution or when from motives of policy, it was encouraging the State Banks to expand.

But its most dangerous ⟨*influence*⟩ and formidable power when it entered the political arena, was the corrupt and corrupting influence it ⟨*exercised*⟩ had acquired over the press. In every state where a Branch was established some one or more of the leadings news papers were devoted to its interests. Even without any direct bribery, every paper would naturally desire the favor of the institution, on account [of] the facilities it could afford him in his business, and the advantages he would derive from the patronage of the Directors and other officers. And if the newspapers already in existence were not sufficiently faithful to the interests of the Bank, the influence of the Directors and officers was always great enough to secure the establishment of another on which it could rely. In other instances the ⟨*bribing*⟩ purchase was more direct. The National Intelligencer at Washington was in fact owned by the Bank. For under the name of a loan, the editors received more than the establishment was worth,—and the mortgage they made was in substance a sale, and the editors nothing more than the agents of the Bank. The case of the New York Courier and Inquirer was still more flagrant. The editors of that paper were warm friends of Genl. Jackson at his first election and had taken ground openly and strongly against the Bank. To the amazement of those who were not in the secret they suddenly changed sides—and became ardent advocates for the renewal of its charter. The whole secret however afterwards came out and it appeared that they had received secretly from Mr. Biddle as President of the Bank fifty thousand dollars. It is needless to detail this disreputable transaction here because it has been fully stated in the official report of the Examining Committee. How many other cases there were of like transactions we shall never know. But one thing is certain: that before the Bank entered in the contest, it had secured the support of the great majority of the news papers in the country. It was continually the subject of praise. Its every measure eulogized. Scarcely any newspaper found fault with it—And if Mr. Biddle believed all that was said of him and the Bank [he] had every reason to suppose that Genl. Jackson would be overwhelmed as soon as he took the field against him. With all these elements of power combined together and wielded as they were by Mr. Biddle alone, it is not a matter of surprise, that he should have supposed himself able to control the election of president.

It was a bold measure produced on his part to create a pressure in the money market throughout this country by unnecessarily contracting the currency, and charging the administration with the evils which he had himself occasioned. For the merchants and traders were the class of persons who would first feel the stringency of the money market and most seriously suffer from it. The great mass of them were in his favor in this contest, and I confess when this subject was under consideration, I did

not suppose that he would for any purpose consent to ruin his own friends; and if he attempted to do so, that I did not believe they would submit to it, much less that they would cooperate in producing it. For they are undoubtedly in this country a highly intelligent class of men, and not easily deceived where their own interests are concerned. And I believed therefore, that if any unnecessary contraction took place, they would readily understand who was responsible for it, and that Mr. Biddle would even be compelled to relax his grasp or lose their support. He evidently had some doubts himself upon this subject, and felt his way with some caution. The pressure, severe as it was, while the reelection of Genl. Jackson was pending, was nothing compared to what it became, in the final struggle after the removal of the deposites. He had by that time discovered that he had either effectually succeeded in deceiving the mercantile community, as to the true source of the evil,—or that they felt they were in his power and compelled to support him at all hazards. For they not only held meetings everywhere denouncing the removal of the deposites and sent committees and deputations without number to Washington to encourage the friends of the Bank, and intimidate its opponents, but they passed resolutions, declaring in effect that unless the deposits were restored the commerce of the country was ruined, and general bankruptcy must follow. When the merchants said so of themselves, the rest of the community very naturally believed them. Credit was destroyed. With all Mr. Biddle's power over the currency he could have produced nothing more than a severe and trying pressure; if left to his own resources; but by the aid of the merchants and politicians, he created a fearful panic: deepening in intensity every day for some months and overwhelming with ruin many of the friends of the Bank as well as its opponents. It required no little stoicism to say the least of it, to press matters to this extent. He could by a word have changed the whole aspect of affairs in a single week. Yet in the midst of the cries of distress which rose up daily from every quarter of the country, Mr. Biddle sat unmoved in the marble palace of the Bank, calm as a summer morning. So at least one of his friends (Mr. Frelinghuysen)[7] took occasion to say in the Senate of the United States in a speech made in the midst of this deplorable ruin, which Mr. Biddle had himself produced and which Mr. Frelinghuysen was then speaking to aggravate. Nero is said to have fiddled while Rome was burning. But I have not learned from history that even his courtiers praised him for doing so. It is true Mr. Frelinghuysen charged the ruin around him upon the administration. He may have believed it. But Mr. Biddle knew better. And I am satisfied that no intelligent man who lived at that time and witnessed what was passing in Washington could doubt, but that (the) ruin he everyday witnessed was wilfully produced by the Bank and the panic designedly created by its supporters; and was not the necessary consequence of the acts of the administration. Every member of the Senate

[7] Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, who as a friend of Nicholas Biddle was now in the camp of the Whigs.

I doubt not knew and believed this as firmly as I did; and the Senator above mentioned and every other senator who professed to deplore the public calamity, and who daily declaimed against the administration for producing it, were seeking by those very speeches to enhance the evil and to render the general suffering and distress by that means more intense; in the hope of casting the odium upon the President and his friends, and driving them from power. My experience and observation of the events of that period have convinced me that there are more ambitious politicians who act upon the principal of rule or ruin than are willing to acknowledge it to themselves. Undoubtedly there were thousands and tens of thousands of honest men who were led by party prejudices to believe in these speeches,—and who still believe in them. But the Senators and representatives in Congress had better means of information and could not have been deceived. Certainly they knew that to enhance and aggravate the panic was not the way to relieve the public distress. As this plan upon which the deposits were removed to the State Banks was matured and executed by me, I must necessarily speak almost continually of myself in this narrative: and I shall speak in the first person because it is the shortest and most direct mode. It would be mere affection to do otherwise.

Genl. Jackson offered me the office of Attorney General of the United States in June 1831; I accepted it, and soon after entered upon the duties of the office. I can say most truly that I did not desire the office; and accepted it with reluctance. When I received this appointment, I was the Attorney General of Maryland. This was the only office I ever coveted; although I certainly never asked for it and never made the slightest effort to obtain it. Nor did I desire it for the purpose of emolument. For the duties were performed and the fees received by my deputies in all of the courts of the state except in the court of appeals to which very few cases were removed, and where the fees allowed by law were too small to make the office desirable as a matter of profit to any lawyer; even to one of most moderate standing. But it had been most commonly filled by highly gifted and eminent men; and my family on both the Father and Mothers side have been for so many generations Maryland people, that I have always felt strong Maryland attachments; and having no desire for political distinction or power, my highest ambition was to receive the highest Bar honor in my native state; and to be thought worthy of succeeding the distinguished lawyers who had held the office before me. I left it with reluctance. For I had had no particular connection with the public affairs of the United States and had very little acquaintance with any of the leading men of the general government out of Maryland. But when General Jackson offered me this appointment his first cabinet had been just dissolved. He was at that time vehemently assailed, not only by his old enemies but by new ones who had before been his friends. I had scarcely any personal acquaintance with him; and knew him only from his public acts and the history of his life. But yet my feelings toward him were warmer than mere political confidence. Pains had been taken to wound not only his fame, but his feelings and affections.—His wife

had been most wantonly and cruelly introduced into the electioneering contest. She had been defamed and traduced in the most ferocious spirit. The ungenerous and unmanly attacks upon her character had not been confined to the low and the base, but put forward again and again by every newspaper which supported the rival candidate; from the highest to the lowest; and if not instigated and encouraged, they were yet undoubtedly countenanced and encouraged by all the political leaders opposed to him. I should have grieved to see a high and noble spirit beaten down by those who had thus wantonly tortured him, and broken the heart of the excellent wife to whom he was so devotedly attached. It seemed to me that every man who by his support of him in 1824 had made him so prominent in the canvass of 1828 and by that means brought on him this vindictive rivalry, was bound to do more than give him a mere cold political support; was bound to make personal sacrifices if they were necessary to support his administration while he continued to deserve his confidence and continued to be unjustly assailed. Such sacrifices seemed to me to be necessary where new enemies were combining with the old ones, to wage war against him in the same fierce spirit of personal hostility. And understanding that he had some difficulty as to the office of Attorney General I accepted it, as I have said with reluctance but without hesitation. I certainly did not count upon being anything more than the law officer of the government, and never dreamed that I should become a prominent actor in the most prominent event of his administration. In a country like ours where exciting political subjects follow each other in rapid succession, some of the influences under which we have at times acted pass away from our own minds and cannot easily be understood or appreciated by those who come subsequently upon the stage and did not mingle in the conflict. But the feelings which I entertained toward General Jackson, and which strongly influenced my decision to accept the place of Attorney General of the United States were at that period common to thousands of those who had supported him in the warm and exciting contests which began in 1824, and indeed in his election in 1828. We gathered around as personal friends who felt and resented the cruel destruction of his domestic happiness. In a pecuniary point of view the office was a losing one to a lawyer in full practice in a large commercial city: and at the same time the most laborious in the government, with the exception of that of the President himself.

It is proper here to state because it was frequently made the subject of remark during the Panic war, that I was one of the old Federal party. I certainly belonged to that party from the time I was old enough to exercise the right of suffrage, and would not have accepted the office General Jackson offered me, if my acceptance had implied any change of my political principles or any abandonment of the party to which I had been attached. This General Jackson knew as well as I did, and his previous cabinet as well as the one of which I was a member was formed without reference to former party divisions. The main point in dispute between the old parties concerned our foreign relations. And upon these

questions the interest taken on both was so intense that other questions were regarded as of secondary consideration. For many years before the last war with England we appeared every day to be upon the verge of a break with France or England or both. And when the war was over the Federal party as it existed before was dissolved by the events of the war. This is not the place to vindicate it, or to show why it was dissolved. But it may not be improper to say so far as Maryland is concerned that during the war, the deepest dissatisfaction was felt by the greater number of the prominent Federalists of the State with the conduct of the Eastern Federalists. For while the enemy was in the midst of us spoiling our cities, and burning our houses and plundering our property, and the citizens of the state without distinction of party were putting forth their whole strength and bleeding in its defense—those with whom the Maryland Federalists had been associated as political friends in the Eastern States and whom they had regarded and treated as the leaders of the party, were holding the Hartford Convention,—talking about Disunion:—conferring with one another in secret conclave: Demanding from us as one of the Southern States, a surrender of a portion of the political weight secured to us by the constitution: Making this Demand too in the hour of our distress, when the enemy was upon us:—They were moreover using every exertion in their power to destroy the credit and cripple the means(?) of the General government, feeble as [it] then was: and leaving us to defend ourselves as well as we could by our own resources. It will readily be imagined that after this, the federalists of Maryland would hardly desire to continue the party association and continue the lead in hands ⟨*so indifferent to the interests*⟩ who appeared to be not only indifferent to the sufferings of our citizens but ready to take advantage of the peril in which the State was placed, to extort from it the surrender of a portion of its legitimate power. We thought it time that the party connection should be dissolved.

There was no general concert of action between the members of the old Federal party in relation to the general government after the close of the war. Mr. Monroe [8] was elected without opposition—nor was there any organized opposition to him during his administration. Indeed some of the Federalists of the Eastern States who had been most prominent and active in the reprehensible proceedings which I have just mentioned seemed anxious to enrol themselves under his banner, and to be recognized as his political friends.

At the election of 1824 when Genl. Jackson was first brought forward, Mr. Crawford [9] was the regularly nominated candidate of the old Democratic party; and with but very few exceptions, the leading men of that party were every where opposed to Genl. Jackson and denouncing him as wholly unfit for the office. In the Eastern states the great body of the

[8] James Monroe, President of the United States, 1817-1825.
[9] William H. Crawford, of Georgia.

Federalists united with the Democrats in supporting Mr. Adams,[10] who up to that time had been particularly obnoxious to the old Federal party on account of the time manner and circumstances under which he deserted it and went over to their opponents. But in Maryland the far greater number of the Federalists who had taken a leading part in politics supported Genl. Jackson, whom they preferred to either Mr. Crawford or Mr. Adams; and at their head was Charles Carroll of Carrollton:—While the prominent men of the old democratic party, with very rare exceptions opposed.[11] . . . ⟨*became one party when these principles and members were opposed by an organized opposition.*⟩ But it was a new party formed of persons who had belonged to both the old ones—and the Federalists and Democrats of former times who composed it, both found themselves in direct opposition to old party associates. There was nothing in the principles or measures of the administration of General Jackson, in any degree inconsistent with the doctrines of the old Federal party with which I had acted. And it is due to truth to say so far as the Federalists of Maryland are concerned, that it was composed of pure, patriotic and enlightened men sincerely devoted to the cause of liberty and free institutions; and I have never seen any cause to regret my association with it nor to change any political opinion that I then held in common with my party friends. I speak only of the Federalists of Maryland because I knew personally and intimately almost every prominent man of the party in the State; and had very little acquaintance out of it. And what I now say I have never concealed but have always up to this day made it a point to say it openly whenever the occasion seemed to make it proper to speak upon the subject. Undoubtedly both of the old parties committed errors. And perhaps the greatest error of the Federal party (and it was one that led to others) was in electing Mr. Adams [12] as the successor of General Washington. Certainly nobody would at this day think of proposing an alien or sedition law. Neither would anyone think of dismantling our ships of the line and Frigates and going back to Mr. Jefferson's [13] Gun Boats. Nor of relying upon an embargo, or non intercourse to repel the insults or injuries of a foreign nation General Jackson certainly did not follow in the footsteps of either party in these respects. And although some time after his election those of his friends who had belonged to the old Democratic party, were anxious for the purposes of political influence to take again that name and although it is now claimed that his election was a victory of the old Democratic party and the party who supported him the legitimate representative of that party as contradistinguished from the old Federal party, yet it was not the name recognized at his election nor for some years afterwards. Nor could he have

[10] John Quincy Adams, President of the United States, 1825-1829.
[11] Manuscript page torn out.
[12] John Adams, President of the United States, 1797-1801.
[13] Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, 1801-1809.

been elected if brought forward under it. The questions upon parties were afterwards formed while he was at the. . . .[14]

I proceed to the narrative. The first discussion which took place in relation to the Bank was at a Cabinet Council, held in the Presidents office a few days before the commencement of the session of December 1831. The meeting was called to hear the annual message which had been prepared under the President's direction, and which he proposed to send in.

It will be remembered that the first cabinet had been dissolved after the close of the preceding session of Congress; and Mr. Barry [15] the Postmaster General was the only one retained in the new arrangement. Mr. Livingston [16] had succeeded Mr. Van Buren [17] as Secretary of State: Mr. McLane [18] was Secretary of the Treasury in place of Mr. Ingham; [19] General Cass [20] in the War Department in place of Genl. Eaton; [21] and Mr. Woodbury [22] in that of the Navy instead of Mr. Branch.[23]—I had succeeded Mr. Berrien [24] as Attorney-General.

The former messages of the President had taken ground strongly against the renewal of the charter, and stated his conviction that it was unconstitutional as well as inexpedient and dangerous to the liberties of the country. But they had been prepared with his former cabinet about him. Their opinions upon the subject were not generally known, but they were supposed to be adverse to the Bank.

In the new Cabinet it was well understood that Mr. McLane was in favor of a renewal of the charter; and that his opinion was known to the President, before he appointed him to the Treasury Department. The charter had been granted upon the ground that it was a necessary fiscal agent for the government: in collecting and disbursing the revenue: and the question of recharter therefore so far as concerned its expediency or necessity more properly belonged to the consideration of the Secretary of the Treasury, than to that of any other member of the Cabinet. It was on that account very naturally believed that his opinions in relation to the Bank, would be likely to have more weight with the President than those of any other member of the new cabinet. and his appointment to the Treasury Department with a previous knowledge of his opinion created

[14] Taney here removed a number of his manuscript pages, some for omission and others for reinsertion elsewhere.

[15] William T. Barry, of Kentucky, Postmaster General 1829-1835.

[16] Edward Livingston, of Louisiana, Secretary of State 1831-1833.

[17] Martin Van Buren, of New York, Secretary of State 1828-1831, President of the United States, 1837-1841.

[18] Louis McLane, of Delaware, Secretary of the Treasury, 1831-1833, Secretary of State 1833-1834.

[19] Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury 1829-1831.

[20] Lewis Cass, of Michigan, Secretary of War 1831-1837.

[21] John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, Secretary of War 1829-1831.

[22] Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy 1831-1834, Secretary of the Treasury 1834-1841. Associate Justice of the Supreme Court 1846-1851.

[23] John Branch, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy 1829-1831.

[24] James McP. Berrien, of Georgia, Attorney General 1829-1831.

some doubt whether the President's own views had not to some extent undergone a change.

It was certainly not a judicious movement to bring into that Department, a Secretary who was openly and decidedly opposed to him, if he was still determined to carry out the opinions he had expressed. His opposition to the recharter of the Bank and his plan for the reform of the currency which was connected with and intended to follow the defeat of the Bank were the great leading measures of his administration. The public mind was already much excited and divided upon them; and would evidently become more so. And the appointment of a Secretary of the Treasury who differed with him must seriously embarrass his own course, as well as that of the friends who agreed with him in opinion; while it gave countenance and confidence to his adversaries. It added the whole political influence of that Department to their strength, which was already sufficiently formidable. . . .[25] . . . President were placed by him in the hands of some one with directions as to his own views, for the purpose of being arranged in the form of a message. This was usually done by Mr. Livingston while he was Secretary of State in whom the President had great confidence. And most commonly where the President concurred in the views of the head of the Department, the very language of the latter was followed in the part of the message appropriated to the business of that Department. When the Message was thus prepared it was read in the cabinet, and any part of it deemed objectionable by any member was fully and freely discussed in the presence of the President who of course finally decided for himself how it should stand—and whether any alterations in the language used or opinions expressed should or should not be made. The Attorney General having no Department had no statement to make previous to the preparation of the Message and generally knew nothing of what it was to contain until it was read in Cabinet. This was my situation as to the Message of Decem. 1831. And knowing the opinions ⟨*of Mr. Livingston who had read the Draught of the Message, and*⟩ of Mr. McLane to whose Department the question as to the Bank more immediately belonged, I listened with a good deal of interest and anxiety when Mr. Donelson[26] who was reading it came to that part of the message. I was startled when I heard it read—and the impression it made upon me was that it implied that although the President still entertained the opinions expressed in his former messages, yet that he had performed his whole duty in stating them; and that he would now defer to the representatives of the people and abide by the decision of Congress. It will be remembered that this was a new Congress elected since he had made known in his messages his objections to the Bank and stated fully the ground upon which he was opposed to a recharter. And I thought it might be implied from the language now used, that having brought the subject to the attention of the people of the U. States, he was prepared

[25] Manuscript page torn out.
[26] Andrew Jackson Donelson, nephew and secretary to President Jackson.

to acquiesce in their decision—and would regard the action of the new Congress whatever it should be as an expression of their will.

The sentence of the message as it then stood, to which I objected was different from the one finally adopted by the President. The paragraph which relates to the Bank, after stating that he still entertained the opinions set forth in his former messages and had felt it his duty to lay them before Congress and to bring them to the public attention concludes with the following sentence:

"Having conscientiously discharged a constitutional duty I deem it proper on this occasion without a more particular reference to the views of the subject then expressed to leave it for the present to the investigation of an enlightened people and their representatives." [27]

The sentence as it originally stood was I think as follows:

"Having conscientiously discharged a constitutional duty I deem it proper without a more particular rereference to the subject to leave it to the investigation of an enlightened people and their representatives."

I may not give the precise words of the original draught—for I have no copy of it, and it is many years since the event took place of which I am speaking. But I believe I give the very words. For it was the first Message after I became Attorney Genl. I was new in Cabinet discussions and in the concerns of the General government and was comparatively a stranger to Genl. Jackson: for all of the other members of his council had been in public life with him before he became President, and had been personally and familiarly known to him for many years. It was my first conflict in the cabinet; I stood alone in it; and in opposition to Mr. Livingston and Mr. McLane who were experienced politicians, and in both of whom I knew that the President at that time reposed the highest confidence. The duty of making this objection I felt to be an unpleasant one and the whole scene is yet strongly impressed on my memory.[28]

I thought otherwise; and that it would be inferred from this message, that the President merely meant to justify himself for what he had before said in his messages—that he considered himself as having discharged his whole constitutional duty in bringing the subject before the congress and presenting his views of it to the public: and that he was now prepared to submit his judgment to the decision of congress, regarding that decision as speaking the will of the people. That I did not suppose the President meant this, but he had called a new cabinet about him and every word upon this subject in his message would be carefully and anxiously scanned. For it would naturally be supposed that the opinions and arguments of the advisors with whom he had now surrounded himself, might in some degree influence his course; and might produce some change in his measures. And if it was supposed that he considered what he had already

[27] See James D. Richardson (ed.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. II, p. 558.

[28] Manuscript page torn out. This deletion unfortunately deprives the reader of the central portion of Taney's statement of his own position as then taken.

done as all that his duty required of him, and that he would sign an act for the renewal, if congress should pass one, many of those who were prepared to go with him in opposition to the Bank, would be discouraged and fall off; while its friends and advocates would gather new strength; and put forward more vigorous efforts.

Mr. Livingston ⟨*favored*⟩ supported the message as it stood and did not think the inferences I suggested would be drawn from it. He however did not take a very earnest or leading part in the discussion. He had in truth paid but little attention to the financial operations of the government or to questions of political economy or the currency. He was found of literary pursuits and philosophical studies, and loved to mingle in society with persons of similar tastes. He had no ambition for high office and did not aspire to the Presidency. The place of Secretary of State was I am sure the only one he would have accepted in the cabinet. It engaged him in historical researches, and in the study and application of the laws of nations and of the principles on which they were based. He was truly a philanthropist:—a scholar—an amiable and accomplished gentleman; and a delightful companion in the social circle. And when he came into office I have no doubt he looked forward to the embassy to France which he afterwards received. It suited his tastes and cast of mind far better than the intrigues and angry conflicts of political life. He had been aid de camp to Genl. Jackson during the campaign at New Orleans—and was one of his principal advisers in the measures so energetically (and as I have always thought *lawfully*) taken to repress and punish treason within his lines. He was warmly attached to Genl. Jackson, and had the highest respect for his judgment in any matter, where he believed that the General had bestowed his attention upon it. The attachment was mutual. The principal object of Mr. Livingston seemed to be to avoid any decided movement in relation to the Bank until after the next election of President. He thought I have no doubt that if there was no strong popular excitement upon the subject, Genl. Jackson would certainly be reelected: and in that event charter for a bank of the U. S. might be framed that would avoid the President's objections to the existing one; and at the same time be useful and beneficial to the public. And not having turned his attention particularly to the subject, he had without examination imbibed the opinion which extensively prevailed before the election of Genl. Jackson that a bank of the U. States in some form or other was desirable, if not absolutely necessary, for the convenient collection of the revenue and the financial operations of the government.

This discussion as I have already said, in support of the paragraph as it originally stood, was conducted chiefly by Mr. McLane. He objected strongly to any alteration. Mr. McLane was an ambitious man; loved power, and aspired to the Presidency which he confidently expected to reach. He had been many years in Congress; and was for some time chairman of the committee of Ways and Means, which had made him familiar with the financial concerns of the country ⟨*and the manner of*

collecting and disbursing the revenue⟩. This circumstance gave his opinions weight in the cabinet and he was sensible of it.

He had always been in favor of a bank of the U. States, and his close intimacy with Mr. Biddle and with the Barings [29] in England made him perhaps more zealous in its support. He was an accomplished diplomatist, and exercised as much diplomacy in Washington to carry his measures as he would at a foreign court; and he had a remarkable talent at managing men with whom he came in contact, who were inferior to himself in strength of mind or firmness of purpose. He had great tact, and always knew whether he should address himself to the patriotism, the magnanimity, the pride, the vanity, the hopes or the fears of the person on whom he wished to operate. And he thus always had a clique about him wherever he was in power over whose opinions he exercised a controlling influence.

His mistake was in underating the ⟨*intelligence*⟩ strength and independence of the President's mind; and the extent of his information. He expected to manage him. Mr. McLane had belonged to the party which supported Mr. Crawford in 1824, in opposition to both Genl. Jackson and Mr. Adams; and it was their policy at that time to represent him as one who possessed but little of the sagacity experience or information of a statesman, and who was incompetent on that account to discharge the high duties of a President of the U. States; and that if elected the measures of his administration would be influenced by the men around him. I have no doubt the leaders of the Crawford party thought so; and when they afterwards supported Genl. Jackson in 1828 in opposition to Mr. Adams, they expected to govern him. Mr. Van Buren was his first Secretary of State and soon found out that this was a mistake and shaped his course accordingly. But Mr. McLane went abroad as minister to England soon after Genl. Jackson entered upon the duties of his office. He returned with the impressions which he had carried away with him. He supposed Genl. Jackson utterly ignorant in matters of finance and the currency, and supposed his former messages about the Bank were written under the influence of others. He evidently believed that he would be able to change his opinions, and induce him to assent to the continuance of the charter with some slight and unimportant modification, as a salve to the Presidents consistency. And with his projects of ambition before him—he was by no means insensible of the claims he would have upon Mr. Biddle if he could smooth the way to a recharter—nor of the influence which those interested in the continuance of the Bank might exercise in the selection of a successor to Genl. Jackson.

Genl. Cass said very little. He merely stated his approbation of the message as read—and that he did not think any alteration advisable. He agreed he said with Mr. McLane.

Genl. Cass had migrated to the west, when he was a young man, and

[29] Baring Brothers and Company, an insurance firm known throughout the civilized world.

had always afterwards lived there. He was a lawyer by profession.—Indeed every member of the cabinet, and the President himself were lawyers who had been actively and successfully engaged in the profession. Genl. Cass abandoned the law and entered the army in the war of 1812 and served with much distinction. He was afterwards Governor of Michigan when it was a territory; and had never been in the public counsels at Washington until he was invited by the President to take charge of the War Department. He was a scholar and fond of scientific pursuits. But he had turned his attention as a public man altogether to the affairs of the West—and to the character history habits and interests of the aboriginal inhabitants with which he was surrounded. He knew nothing of the financial concerns of the country except only as concerned its revenue from lands and had never bestowed a thought I believe upon the operations of the Bank, nor considered whether it was or was not necessary to the collection of the revenue and the intercourse of Commerce, nor whether its charter was authorized by the constitution of the U. States; or its power over the currency so great as to make it dangerous to the government. His disposition was kind and amiable and his yielding kindness bordered on that unfortunate weakness in a public man which makes him unwilling to say no to any proposition not morally wrong, when covertly pressed upon him by one whom he esteemed although he possessed a very high order of intellect this facile temper made him unwilling to come in conflict with his associates, upon any measure of policy strongly and perseveringly urged: His opinions were therefore often influenced by men of stronger will and firmer purposes who were not his superiors in reach of intellect or extent of information. Mr. McLane perfectly understood his character and exercised over him great influence while they were in the cabinet together. Indeed his opinions upon almost every thing that did not immediately concern his Department, seemed to be indistinct and unsteady, and took their color for the time very much from those who were around him and desired to impress upon him their own views—He too looked to the Presidency. Yet I think he had no very anxious desire to attain it; and he certainly never intrigued for it. The aspiration seemed to me to be implanted by others who were seeking to use him for other purposes, and not to spring from his own inherent ambition to obtain power or high political station.

Mr. Woodbury expressed no opinion upon the subject. He suggested some changes in words or phrases which he supposed might reconcile the difference between Mr. McLane and myself, and be acceptable to both of us and to the President. But he did not say whether he thought them advisable or not, nor whether he would or would not prefer a change in the message.

Mr. Woodbury was a trained politician. He was perfectly familiar with the operations of the Bank and had no doubt carefully examined the principles on which the charter had been justified.—He had been much engaged in public life and was familiar with all the proceedings of the general government. But he was a singularly wary and cautious man;

unwilling to commit himself upon any opinion upon which he was not obliged immediately to act and never further than that action required. And if he expressed an opinion upon a measure he most commonly added to it so many qualifications and limitations and doubts, that he sometimes appeared to take it back again. He was a man of a strong and astute mind:of great industry, which carefully gathered together all the information that could be obtained upon any subject before him; even to the smallest matters of detail. He had I presume his own opinions and views well defined in his own mind—but did not deem it prudent to disclose them too distinctly even to his friends and associates. Nor could I on this occasion understand what he thought either of the constitutionality or expediency of the Bank—nor what course under existing circumstances he would recommend the President to take. But whatever his opinions were, they were certainly his own, and never impressed upon him by the influence of others. In this respect he was entirely unlike Genl. Cass. It was said however that like him he aspired to the Presidency. I rather think he did.—But if he had any views of that sort he kept them to himself—and determined to work them out in his own way and in his own time; and in a manner that would not bring him prematurely into rivalship or conflict with the other aspirants.

Mr. Barry the Postmaster General said nothing. He was warmly attached to the President and had the most unlimited confidence in his judgment in everything. He was a man of warm and generous feelings—ready to serve a friend to the uttermost extent of his power and at almost any sacrifice on his own part. He declaimed eloquently and beautifully and was particularly impressive before a jury or a public assembly. But he was greatly deficient in practical talents, thought loosely and reasoned loosely and without point. Such at least he was at the time of which I am speaking. Unfortunate habits which he afterwards contracted may have changed for the worse the brighter parts of his character. His sad mismanagement of the post office arising altogether from his own want of practical talent, and his unbounded confidence in others, brought upon him bitter attacks from political opponents; nor could his friends with all their kind feeling to him always vindicate his conduct. This soured him, and perhaps alienated him in some measure from Genl. Jackson. But at the time of which I speak I am sure he had no desire to alter anything which the President approved nor to resist an alteration if the President desired it. ⟨*Such was the Cabinet with which I was first associated—and such the scene in the first serious opposition which I witnessed in it. I had been a member of it but a short time, and had no previous acquaintance with any of my colleagues, beyond that of a mere introduction, or a casual meeting, until I entered upon the duties of Attorney General. They knew me and I knew them by character only, until we came together as members of General Jacksons Cabinet.*⟩

The discussion continued for some time, and until I saw that the President was worried and desired it to end. He had interposed occasionally as it went on, and my objection was evidently new to him and unlooked

for. He finally said that he certainly did not mean ⟨*in that message*⟩ to have it understood ⟨*by that message*⟩ that he was prepared to sign any bill that Congress might pass for continuing the Bank; nor did he think it necessary to say at that time that he would veto it. It would be time enough when he saw the act and its provisions, if one should be passed ⟨*and presented to him.*⟩ But he intimated that the clause in question did not appear to him to be liable to the objections I had taken—and he did not at that time seem to be disposed to make any alternation;—and I left the Cabinet meeting when it broke up, with the belief that I had failed and that no alteration would be made: and with strong doubts also whether under the influence of his new advisers he would not be persuaded to consent to the recharter of the Bank with some plausible but unsubstantial restrictions on its power. But I did not then know Genl. Jackson as well as I afterwards knew him. If I had, these doubts would never have been entertained.

If the President had written the paragraph himself, he would have left no doubt about its meaning: nor of what he had determined to do. His mind was bold, and frank, and straightforward. His conclusions were never cloudy or indistinct. He always saw his object clearly, and came up to it openly and directly. And when he had made up an opinion, whether he expressed it orally or in writing nobody could misunderstand what he meant. But he had never studied the niceties of language, and disliked what he was apt to regard as mere verbal criticisms. And when he read any paper prepared under his directions, he always read it with the strong convictions of his own mind upon the subject, and with an undoubting confidence that his instructions had been fully carried out. For he reposed unlimited confidence in the frankness and fair-dealing of those whom he respected enough to consult or call about him; and always listened reluctantly to any criticism upon the language of a paper prepared under his directions; and seemed to apprehend that the writer might feel mortified, if it was determined that he had imputed to ⟨*the President*⟩ him opinions he did not entertain—or failed to execute the instructions under which the paper was written. From the earnestness and tenacity with which Mr. McLane defended this paragraph, it was evident that he himself had prepared it: and that it had been adopted in his own words by Mr. Livingstone in arranging the message. The President I am sure was the more unwilling to make alterations because he saw that Mr. McLane would be dissatisfied and perhaps a little hurt if the paper was materially changed.

There was another trait in the character of Genl. Jackson which ought not to be overlooked: for although it endeared him to his friends as a man, it brought upon him many difficulties as President ⟨*and greatly strengthened the hands of the opposition.*⟩ It was this: he never felt the least dissatisfaction with any one of his Cabinet for opposing him or his most favorite measures, when the opposition was made openly and fairly, and conducted with proper decorum. Frank himself, (perhaps almost to a fault in a public man,) he loved frankness in others; and regarded

opposition to his opinions, by one who held office under him, as evidence of firmness as well as honesty of purpose. It did not diminish his confidence in or friendship for the party, when he believed the advice to be given from an honest desire to promote the usefulness and success of his administration. And he carried this feeling so far that he had brought into his then Cabinet men whom he knew differed with him on this great and exciting measure ⟨*of his administration:*⟩; and afterwards when he had nearly made up his mind to the decisive step of removing the deposites, he brought in Mr. Duane as Secretary of the Treasury without first ascertaining what were his opinions, or how far he could rely on his cooperation. He had the most abiding confidence in the virtue and intelligence of the American people, and always believed that if his measures were right, they would support him in carrying them out, whatever the members of his Cabinet might think or say upon the question. And when in Cabinet discussions doubts were suggested whether a movement would be supported or not, or supposed to be of a character that would alienate his friends in any particular portion of the Union, his reply most commonly was, never fear, the people will understand it: and if we do right Providence will take care of us." Determined to act upon his own opinions he was yet willing to let the opposing opinions of any member of his Cabinet go before the people and to abide the consequences. But by forming his Cabinets upon these principles he undoubtedly embarrassed his administration and endangered its success.— He in that way raised up obstacles to the execution of his own measures: and then found himself compelled to remove them. This was always unpleasant, made new enemies: and weakened his strength. It compelled him to dissolve his first Cabinet, and led to ⟨*unpleasant*⟩ conflicts and changes in the one of which I was a member.

The Cabinet should certainly be composed of men who concur with the President in his leading measures. He ought to bring in no one, whose opinions are not well known to him, although he may call himself his political friend and perhaps belong to the same party. The Executive Department in its head and members should be an unit. For opposition in a member of the Cabinet is far more formidable than the opposition of the same person out of it, especially if he happens to have aspiration for the Presidency, and with some prospects of success. The Administration of Genl. Jackson is a striking illustration of this. The appointment of the two Secretaries of the Treasury who preceded me, induced many to suppose he would abandon the ground he had taken, and increased and encouraged the hopes of a recharter. It made the final contest upon a measure upon which he had ⟨*so early*⟩ taken his stand in his inaugural address, and in which his opinions never afterwards wavered for a moment, ⟨*a fearful one upon the interests of the country*⟩ a far more severe and doubtful one than it need have been.

For if he had taken care never to bring into his cabinet any one who differed with him on this subject, and it had always been understood to be the united determination of the President and his whole Cabinet to

resist the recharter the public mind would have looked for that decision more calmly, and the Bank would have been far less able to excite the public mind and produce the panic and ruin occasioned by its desperate struggles. There would have been no petition for a recharter at the session of 1831 and 1832, if Mr. Biddle had not supposed that the new cabinet would either induce the President to sign the act: or send in a veto so conciliatory in its terms as would insure a charter at the next session.

(*To be continued*)

ROGER BROOKE TANEY'S ACCOUNT OF HIS RELATIONS WITH THOMAS ELLICOTT IN THE BANK WAR

Edited by STUART BRUCHEY

(*Concluded from March*)

I was appointed Secretary of the Treasury on the 23. of September 1833. The order for the removal was given on the 26th. of the same month to take effect on the 1st. of October following. Mr. Ellicott had returned to Baltimore after the conference already mentioned; but having learned that two of my political friends had come to Washington to urge the selection of the Bank of Baltimore, he hastened back again to take care of the interests of the Union Bank. I do not remember whether he arrived before or after the Presidents decision in favor of his Bank; but my impression is that he came before, & had an interview with the President. But however this may be, he was in Washington on the day the question was disposed of, and when he understood what it was, expressed to me a wish that the Bank of Maryland could have been appointed a deposite Bank together with the Union Bank. I told him it was impossible—that its capital was too small; and that if I should deem it advisable at some future time, to select another in Baltimore, it would probably be the Bank of Baltimore. On the same day he returned home, & I did not see him again until after the visit of Mr. Perine and Mr. Johnson to Washington.

The first private letter I received from Mr. Ellicott was dated October 2d. the day after his fiscal agency began. It is marked with reference to this narrative No. 1.—A considerable amount of the money paid on account of duty bonds into the Union Bank on the 1st. of the month, consisted of notes of the Bank of the U. States payable at other places. Upon sending them to the office in Baltimore it declined receiving them in settlement of the account of the Union Bank, and requested time to consult the mother Bank, & promised to give an answer on the saturday following. Mr. Ellicott on the 2d. in an official letter reported to the Department what had taken place, & on the same day wrote the private letter abovementioned. This letter is important in one point of view—as it states in strong terms the pressure and difficulties in Baltimore, & urges the necessity of withdrawing a portion of the money from the Bank of the U. States immediately & placing it in the State Banks upon security to be given by them. This letter it will be observed was written the day

before the mission of Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine to Washington, and was received by me, on the morning of the day on which they arrived.

Connected with this subject it is also proper to state that on the same day that I received Mr. Ellicotts official and private letters, I received official letters from Mr. Newbold & Mr. Fleming Presidents of two of the deposite Banks selected in New York informing me that the Branch of the U. States Bank in that city, had also refused to receive from the deposite Banks the notes of the U. States Bank, payable at other places—; that out of $55.000, received for duty bonds on the 1st. of October $53.000, were in notes of other Branches of the U. States Bank—and that after much negotiation, the Branch at New York had agreed to let the matter remain suspended until they could consult the mother Bank, and promised to give a final answer on the Friday following if they could or at all events on Saturday. These official letters were communicated to the Senate in my report of Decr. 30, 1833 and having been printed with the other documents they need not be repeated here. I inferred from these letters that the refusal of the Branch was peremptory in the first instance and that it was induced to hesitate upon understanding from the Presidents of the deposite Banks in New York that they held transfer drafts on the Bank of the U. States for a million and a half of dollars which they were authorized to use if these notes were not received in the settlement of accounts with the Deposite Banks. It will be recollected that these drafts were given at the suggestion of Mr. Newbold on the 28th. of September, he being then in Washington;—And as I made no communication to the Bank of the U. States upon the subject, the existence of these drafts must have been unknown to the Branches at Baltimore and New York when they refused to receive the notes payable at other places. I have never inquired whether this inference I drew from these letters was correct or not—but I do not now doubt its correctness, after reading over again as I have just done the letter from Mr. Newbold. The drafts were not communicated to the Bank of the U. States by the Department—because the news-papers known to be under its direction were every day vaunting its power, & threatening destruction to the Deposite Banks—; and I wished to see what course it meant to pursue, and whether it would attempt to carry its threats into execution. It was important that I should understand as early as possible the measures it proposed to adopt upon the removal of the deposites—

I return to Mr. Ellicott. His letter and the letters from the New York Banks, satisfied me that the Bank of the U. States had determined to make war upon the State Banks, & to embarrass the selected Banks, by refusing to receive from them its own notes, except at the places where they were payable. It appeared remarkable that both the office at New York and the office at Baltimore should have requested until saturday to give their final answers, although either of them could have heard from Philadelphia on Wednesday or Thursday at farthest; Judging by the payments already made, a very large amount of U. States Bank notes payable at distant Branches would accumulate by saturday, & if the offices

refused to receive them in exchange, the Deposite Banks would perhaps on the settlement of the weekly accounts be heavily indebted to the Branch. They would therefore be utterly unable to render very efficient help to the State Banks if they should be pressed upon by the U. States Bank for the purpose of increasing the pressure which had already been exerted, and under which the commercial cities were already severely suffering. These circumstances, together with the tone of the news-papers belonging to the Bank, led me to apprehend that a simultaneous movement against the State Banks in the principal cities might be contemplated—and that on saturday, the refusal to receive the notes in question would be finally given, & the balances every where exacted in specie.

I was satisfied that the transfer drafts before mentioned had made things safe in New-York, and that the office there would be instructed to receive the notes it had rejected. But the blow might be struck in another place, and I determined therefore to send transfer drafts, to Philadelphia and Baltimore similar to those given to New York, to be used if necessary as a means of defence.—It was too late to send one to Boston, because the letters which induced me to take this step were received on the 3rd. which was Thursday; and as we had no rail roads at that time a transfer draft could not have reached Boston in time for any operation by the Bank on Saturday—Besides there had been but little complaint of pressure there, & that place did not appear to have been one of the chosen points of attack. It was otherwise in Philadelphia and Baltimore where the outcry was already great. I therefore determined to arm the Deposite Banks in these two cities with the means of defence,—giving each of them transfer drafts for an amount that I supposed to be in just proportion to the sum I had provided in New-York & to be used in similar contingencies. I accordingly dispatched to the Girard Bank of Philadelphia on the same day that I received Mr. Ellicotts & Mr. Newbolds letters—that is on the 3rd. a draft on the Bank of the U. States for $500.000. And also to the Union Bank a draft for $100.000 on the office of the Bank of the U. States in Baltimore. I considered that $500.000 to Philadelphia and $300.000 to Baltimore would be in fair proportion to the million and a half which I had sent to New York; and I sent to Baltimore only $100.000, because the Union Bank was near me; & if the movements on saturday should make it necessary, the remaining $200.000, could be placed in Baltimore before the opening of the Banks on monday morning. The purposes for which they were sent, and the exigencies in which they might be used appear from my official letters inclosing them. I wrote no private letter on the subject, until after Mr. Ellicott had used the drafts.

On the same day that these drafts were signed and after the letters inclosing them had been placed in the Post office, Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine arrived. They came in the evening stages and did not call on me until some time after candle light. I was surprized, but yet very glad to see them, for the business in which I had that day been engaged as before mentioned shews that I expected 'a demonstration' upon Baltimore by the Bank of the U. States, & was naturally anxious to know how matters

stood there. They handed me a letter from Mr. Ellicott, which has been lost or mislaid. It was a short one of a few lines, saying that a good deal of uneasiness was felt about the situation of money matters in Baltimore, and that these gentlemen had come to Washington, on that account & referring me to them for more particular information. I do not profess to give the words of the letter. It is now more than five years since I reecived it. It was read probably not more than once, & was not thought worth preserving. Yet its substance, & the substance of the conversation between Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine and myself is deeply and strongly impressed on my memory, from the unpleasant difficulties which immediately grew out of this interview and from the excitements & discussions between them & Mr. Ellicott which followed a few months atferwards.

When Mr. Perine & Mr. Johnson left Baltimore they were not aware that I apprehended a sudden attack by the Bank of the U. States on the State Banks, or that I had taken any measures for their protection. My letter inclosing the draft for $100.000 to the Union Bank would not reach Baltimore until the morning of the day next following that on which they came to Washington; and presuming that they would not have come had they been acquainted with the measures already taken, I told them as soon as I read Mr. Ellicotts letter that I had anticipated them & proceeded to tell them what I had done & the reasons which induced me to do it. I have conversed with Mr. Perine recently on the subject of this interview & his recollection as well as my own is perfect, that this was the remark I made immediately on reading Mr. Ellicotts letter—and it shews that his letter by these gentlemen could have had no particular reference to the Bank of Maryland, but related to the condition of the Banks generally; as my remark otherwise would have been entirely out of place. For it is admitted that the draft alluded to was sent to enable the Union Bank to support the moneyed institutions in Baltimore generally, and not for any particular Bank. Mr. Johnsons professional engagements occupy him so constantly that I have not had an opportunity of asking him whether his recollection concurs with that of Mr. Perine and myself on this particular part of the conversation.

After hearing what I had done, & the grounds upon which I supposed an immediate attack was contemplated by the Bank of the U. States, they expressed much pleasure in learning that I had taken such a decided course, but said they feared the sum I had sent might not be sufficient—and went on to inform me that the Susquehanna Bridge & Bank Company was in difficulties—that there was a run upon it, and that it had been supported for the last two days by heavy advances on the part of the Union Bank and Bank of Maryland—that its notes of a small denomination formed a large portion of the circulation of the City, & were generally in the hands of the labouring classes;—and if it was suffered to stop in the present excited state of the public mind & the Bank of the U. States made its attack at the same moment, the consequences might be most disastrous; and might result in the general overthrow of the State Banks.

This was the first information I had of the difficulties of the Susquehanna Bridge & Bank Company and it added not a little to my anxiety, for I could not know the extent to which this Bank was involved nor whether it would be possible to save it. and yet its failure would evidently increase the danger of the State Banks; and give an important advantage to the U. States Bank if it made war upon them.

It is impossible at this distance of time, to state the order in which different remarks were made in this interview, after the object of the mission of these two gentlemen had been opened as above stated. Our conference lasted some hours, & both parties had many inquiries to make of each other. I was anxious to learn the condition of the Banks in Baltimore & to ascertain if any thing had taken place there that would assist me in forming a judgment of the course intended to be pursued by the Bank of the U. States—and enable me to estimate the extent of the danger to be apprehended from it. Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine were equally anxious to learn what had been the movements of the Bank in other cities and to understand what measures of defence the Department had determined on.

The embarrassments of the Susquehannah Bridge and Bank company was most unpleasant news to me. Mr. Poultney had been at the head of that company for some years, and left it to become the President of the Bank of Maryland, and I feared from his connection with both Banks, that the latter might be implicated in the difficulties of the former; and I was therefore particular in my inquiries upon that point; & also whether the failure of the Bridge & Bank Company from Mr. Poultneys recent connexion with it. would be likely to affect the credit of the Bank of Maryland, and shake the confidence of the public in it.

Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine both assured me that I need entertain no apprehension on that score; that the Bank of Maryland was not at all involved in the affaires of the Bridge & Bank company;—and was one of the safest Banks in Baltimore having been skilfully & prudently managed; that its present condition was easy and unembarrassed, & that it had made large advances to uphold the Bridge & Bank Company without any inconvenience to itself; that nothing could endanger it but a sudden act of hostility on the part of the U. States Bank; but as that Bank and all of its offices except the one in Baltimore received the notes of the Bank of Maryland,—it might accumulate a large amount, and by making an unexpected demand upon it for specie greatly embarrass if not destroy it; that the Bank of the U. States from its immense capital and numerous Branches had a great advantage over a Bank of Small capital like the Bank of Maryland; especially as the Branch in Baltimore refused to receive in exchange the notes of its own Bank unless payable at that office. That from the hostility so continually manifested by the Bank of the U. States to the Bank of Maryland, it was believed that its assault on the State Banks would be made at that point; and by making heavy demands on it for specie they might impair public confidence in it if they did not at once stop it; and in a moment of excitement. if the Bridge & Bank company

failed, they might direct a panic upon it, which would overthrow the best managed Bank, if immediate support was not given to it. They therefore deemed it of the utmost importance, that deposites should be made in Baltimore sufficient to quiet alarm, & to shew the Bank of the U. States that its attack would be unavailing. For the fall of the Bank of Maryland, would be followed by that of every other including the deposite Bank. They did not suppose that there was any probability of a direct attack upon any of the other Banks, because they were all in the hands of the friends of the Bank of the U. States, and it was supposed that it would desire to cast the odium of the first stoppage of payment, upon the Bank of Maryland from its known and open hostility to that Bank since Mr. Poultney had become its President, and they said that as I apprehended an attack would be made on saturday it would be adviseable to send to Baltimore without delay all the support I meant to give the State institutions; because if the demand was made on any of the state Banks for specie beyond its means it must rely mainly for support on the deposite Bank and that support in order to be effectual must be afforded on the instant, & there would be no time to send to Washington for additional transfer drafts. They suggested that if I would make the Bank of Maryland one of the Deposite Banks it would probably prevent an attack on it, because the U. States Bank would be sensible in that case that its efforts would be hopeless, and would therefore from a regard for its own interests desist from further hostility; and they mentioned a sum, larger than the one I sent by then which they supposed it would be desirable to place in Baltimore by transfer drafts—but I do not now recollect the precise amount mentioned. I think however that they wished me to place there a half million of dollars—that is—to place Baltimore in that respect on the same footing with Philadelphia.

On my part I mentioned to these gentlemen my reasons for supposing that the Bank of the U. States meditated an attack on the credit of the State Banks—and that some decided movement was prepared for the saturday following; and I apprised them of the measures I had taken to enable the deposite Banks to repel the attack and to defend the State institutions. I stated to them that if the conduct of the Bank of the U. States should render it necessary I was determined to remove the last dollar of the public money from its vaults without any further delay; & that I would not suffer it to overthrow the state Banks while the Department had the means of supporting them; that I believed that the drafts I had given to the Banks of New-York and Philadelphia were sufficient to secure the State institutions & that the U. S. Bank would abstain from hostile measures in those cities when they knew the amount of the transfer drafts, ready to be presented if it dealt oppressively with the State Banks; that from the crisis produced by the difficulties of the Susquehannah Bridge and Bank company, & the panic which might be got up, if it stopped payment, it was obvious that whatever aid I proposed to give to Baltimore, should be given without delay; and that the drafts ought to be in Baltimore ready to be used at a moments notice; that I should therefore forward

transfer drafts on the Bank of the U. States for two hundred thousand dollars more to the Union Bank, which would make the sum placed there $300.000; and that I considered this sum as the fair proportion of Baltimore with reference to the sums furnished to New York & Philadelphia; that it was certainly enough for the present to meet any hostile step on the part of the Bank of the U. States, if the State Banks had been prudently managed; that the Deposite Banks were instructed to support every solvent State Bank as far as it could, against any assault upon it by the U. S. Bank—and if a panic should be directed upon the Bank of Maryland by reason of the embarrassments of the Bridge & Bank company; or if any other Bank should be the obejct of attack Mr. Ellicott was under his general instructions authorized to support it; that the knowledge that Mr. Ellicott had the means of supporting the State Banks would probably prevent an attack upon any of them;—that I did not desire to have more than one deposite Bank in Baltimore & could not therefore appoint the Bank of Maryland; and that its capital was moreover too small for a desposite Bank in a city like Baltimore; that the course of the Bank of the U. States, might be such as to induce me at some future time to give further drafts upon it in favor of the Deposite Banks; and that it would certainly become necessary to do so if the Bank refused to receive in exchange its own notes payable at distant Branches; but as it would see from the transfer drafts already given the consequences of this measure, & were as I know from their monthly reports to the Department in no condition to meet an immediate draft for the whole amount of the public money still in its hands I did not believe, that the refusal to receive the notes of distant Branches would be adhered to; that the amount of the transfer drafts above mentioned, were therefore all that I proposed to give; and if these drafts were used I should require security for the amount from the deposite Banks because such transfers were not contemplated in the agreements I had made with them, which were intended to provide merely for the accruing revenue; and that I should therefore require security from the Union Bank for the $300.000, and for any further transfer Drafts I might hereafter give it, if such drafts should be made necessary by the conduct of the Bank of the U. States.

This is the substance of what passed between us—As I have before said, I cannot give the words, nor the order of the different remarks & suggestions,—but its material parts are firmly impressed on my memory and the statement here given will be found entirely consistent with the confidential corerspondence between Mr. Ellicott & myself to which it gave rise.

In the whole of this interview I regarded Mr. Johnson and Mr. Perine, as coming at the instance of Mr. Ellicott and as deriving their knowledge of the state of the Banks, and of the dangers to be apprehended altogether from him. I knew indeed that Mr. Johnson was a Director of the Bank of Maryland—but I also knew enough of the ordinary proceedings of Directors in Banks to be satisfied that a man incessantly engaged as he was in his profession, would have no other information of the condition of the Bank, than what he derived from the President and cashier, & that

he made his statements from his confidence in them and not from any personal examination by himself. I knew also that Mr. Johnson was the counsel for the Union Bank, & upon terms of close intimacy & confidence with Mr. Ellicott, and that Mr. Perine was a Director in the Union Bank & had gone into the Board at the request of Mr. Ellicott, & was also upon the most friendly and intimate terms with him; and I had not the slightest suspicion that either of these gentlemen had any interest in the Bank of Maryland, further than as I presumed a share or so by Mr. Johnson to make him eligible as a Director. Neither of them gave the slightest intimation that they had any personal interest in the Bank of Maryland, or in the success of their mission to Washington. The reasons assigned by them for advising that the sum they mentioned as above stated, should be withdrawn from the Bank of the U. States & deposited in Baltimore were altogether of a public nature . They urged it upon the ground that it was necesary in order to protect the moneyed institutions of the City from the hostility of the Bank of the U. States.—They represented them as being generally sound and prudently managed; and spoke confidently of the Bank of Maryland as one of the safest in the City; and they urged the necessity of an additional transfer of public money not on account of the unsound condition of the State Banks but to sustain them against the great and dangerous power of the Bank of the U. States; & the apprehensions in relation to the Bank of Maryland, were said to arise entirely from the peculiar hostility which the U. States Bank had manifested towards it & from its small capital which rendered it less able to defend itself against the unfriendly Bank & that it would probably on that account be made the immediate object of attack, in the efforts to excite a panic and to overwhelm the state Banks.

In truth with the exception of the embarrassed condition of the Susquehannah Bridge and Bank Company, which I first heard from these gentlemen, they told me nothing & suggested nothing that I had not before heard from Mr. Ellicott;—and as to the main object of their mission, it had not only been urged by Mr. Ellicott when the plan of removal was about to be formed,—but had been repeated again by him in the letter I received from him on the morning of the day on which Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine arrived; and I regarded these gentlemen as speaking in behalf of Mr. Ellicott & communicating his views; and supposed that they had come at his request, because the critical state of affairs in Baltimore made him unwilling to leave home. And I have at this moment no doubt, that these gentlemen honestly and frankly stated at the time what they believed to be true and that they had not the Slightest suspicion of the Jeopardy in which the Bank of Maryland was then placed by the insane Speculations in which it had been engaged; and supposed that nothing could endanger it but the determined hostility and overgrown power of the Bank of the U. States. It was nothing extraordinary that Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine should come on such an errand, for at that period I received visits almost every day, from gentlemen who came from different places, upon similar objects; and many of them I knew could

have had no other motive than a sincere desire to see the measure I had undertaken successfully carried out. When Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine had been apprised by me of the amount for which the additional drafts were to be given, they appeared satisfied, and said they supposed it would be enough; and proposed that I should send the drafts by them as they meant to return to Baltiomre in the evening stages of the next day (Friday Octr. 4). They suggested that it would be well that Mr. Ellicott should have the drafts on Friday night; for if (as I informed them I apprehended) some strong step should be taken by the Bank of the U. States on Saturday, Mr. Ellicott would be better prepared to meet it by knowing beforehand the exact Strength of the Union Bank; and that if I sent the drafts by mail he would not receive them until the next morning about the time the Bank opened; and they would moreover be liable to the accident of miscarriage which sometimes happened to the mail even between Washington & Baltimore. I admitted the propriety of this suggestion and two drafts were prepared for $100.000 each one on the office in Baltimore & the other on the Mother Bank which I inclosed to Mr. Ellicott in an official letter and referred him for his instructions to the letter covering the transfer draft of $100.000 which I had previously sent him.

Both of these letters were reported to congress and have been published. For the sake however of presenting a connected view of the subject I insert them here together with the letter to the Girard Bank Nos. 2. 3. 4. The letter which Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine bore to Mr. Ellicott was not shewn to them. Because Mr Ellicotts Bank being the fiscal agent, & bound to execute my instructions, & the drafts being entrusted to him I supposed it to be of no consequence whether these instructions were known or not to these gentlemen. They left Washington on Friday, in the evening line of stages for Baltimore—

I awaited with some anxiety the events of the next day. The failing condition of the Bridge and Bank company was a new and unexpected danger, & in the agitated state of the public mind & from the multitude of persons who were obviously striving to produce a panic & a run upon the Banks, it was difficult to foresee what consequences might grow out of it.

On Saturday shortly after the evening Stages came in (which I think was about sunset or a little before) McClintock Young my chief Clerk whom I had given leave to go to Baltimore to attend to some private business of his own, called on me to let me know that he had returned. I of course inquired of him the news in Baltimore. He told me that he saw Mr. Perine just before he left there, who informed him that the two drafts which I sent by Mr. Johnson & him had been indorsed to the Bank of Maryland—that the one upon the Branch at Baltimore had been collected late in the day on Saturday, & that the other was to go (or had gone on) to Philadelphia and would be collected on Monday. I was greatly Surprized at this intelligence and inquired of Mr. Young whether he knew any thing of the Bridge and Bank company & whether any public

excitement had been produced by its difficulties. He had heard nothing about it, & was satisfied that there could be no excitement in Town on that account or he must have known it. He said that he told Mr. Perine that he thought I would be dissatisfied with the use of the drafts & Mr. Perine thereupon expressed his regret that they had been used, and suggested to Mr. Young that he had better interfere & prevent the use of the one on the mother Bank, until I could be consulted—and that he had declined taking any part in the matter, as he had no orders from me.

I was much perplexed and astonished by this information. It seemed impossible that the Union Bank could be indebted to the Bank of Maryland in such an amount, and I feared that Mr. Ellicott in violation of my known wishes & his own instructions had availed himself of this opportunity to carry into effect the policy he had so often urged, of transferring the public funds from the Bank of U. States to the Deposite Banks. But even in this view of the Subject I could not comprehend why the drafts had been indorsed to the Bank of Maryland; and I was in my private office preparing to write to Mr. Ellicott to ask for explanations, when he himself walked in. He had come over in one of the evening Stages which belonged to a different line from that in which Mr. Young had travelled and come to my house shortly after candle light. ⟨*In the conversation which ensued between us it can hardly be expected that I should undertake at this time to state positively the precise language of the Speakers, in every part of it or the exact order in which some of the remarks were made. Yet every one will feel that the material portions of such a conversation, held under such circumstances are not likely to be forgotten. And the substantial parts of it are distinctly on my memory & the correctness of the statement I am about to make will be found to be verified in the correspondence which immediately followed.*⟩

His visit was unexpected, but I rejoiced to see him, and instantly asked what was the news in Baltimore? I have even now before me the melancholy visage he put on when he answered in hollow tones "very bad, very bad" What is the matter I exclaimed? He replied that the Banks were in a bad condition, and could not sustain specie payments a week longer, unless they were aided by the Department. This was startling enough and the conversation soon became an excited one and on my part was not altogether free from reproaches. I said that this was most extraordinary; that Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine had only the day before informed me that the Banks were all in a healthy state; and that nothing was to be apprehended except from the hostility of the Bank of the U. States, & the panic they were endeavouring to produce; and I had hoped that the drafts already given, would have made every thing safe and even easy in Baltimore. He said it was not enough, it would require a great deal more to enable him to support them. I inquired what Banks were in difficulties? He said they were all run upon more or less, and were generally in a very unsafe condition; and very few if any of them could stand without aid from the Treasury; that the Union Bank although entirely sound, was not able with the means it already had to support the weaker Banks to

the extent required; and if one stopped, the panic would be so great that all would follow; & that even the Union Bank would probably go with the rest; as the U. States Bank would avail itself of the public alarm to crush it if possible. I reproached him for suffering Mr. Johnson and Mr. Perine to come to me, under the impression that the State Banks were all in a good condition—& to mislead me in that respect, and asked him how he could justify the assurances he gave me, before the Deposites were removed when I had conjured him as my friend to tell me truly the situation of the State Banks; and I reminded him of the appeal I then made to him, & his answer to it. He said when he gave me these assurances he believed them to be true; & that when Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine came to Washington, he had not supposed things were so bad as he had found them to be;—that he had himself been deceived; and that he had found the U. States Bank, more powerful & dangerous than he supposed it was; and the Banks in Baltimore generally weaker and less firm than he had imagined. I then asked him, if this was the condition of the Banks how came he to give a single Bank—the Bank of Maryland—$200.000, which was two thirds of what I had sent him, and leave only $100.000 to be employed in aiding the other institutions. He replied that he was obliged to do it; that the Bank of Maryland had embarrassed itself by speculations in stock; that stocks were now depressed & it could not sell them without a heavy loss; But that the Bank was ultimately safe and as soon as it could sell its Stocks for a fair price it would be in a flourishing condition: that besides Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine had told him when they returned from Washington that I intended the two drafts they brought from the Department for the use of the Bank of Maryland. I expressed my utter astonishment at what he said, & told him he must have misunderstood Mr. Johnson & Perine;—that it was impossible they could have said so; that on the contrary they had represented the Bank of Maryland, as perfectly easy in its condition, as one of the safest and best managed Banks in Baltimore—that so far from suggesting that it needed aid they represented it as having advanced largely, in order to prevent the stoppage of the Bridge & Bank company; & had assured me that it had nothing to apprehend, except the hostility of the Bank of the U. States; and that so far it had been able to foil the hostile attempts of even that powerful Bank without any loss of money or credit, & without receiving aid from any other institution. To all this Mr. Ellicott replied in a tone and manner that had much meaning in it, that Mr. Johnson was a Director in the Bank of Maryland, and that he and Mr. Perine had both a very large interest in it. The manner of Mr. Ellicott intimated too plainly to be mistaken, that these gentlemen had deceived me—and had private interests to gratify in the representations they made to me. And when I stated in strong terms my disapprobation of his conduct in disregarding my official instructions in relation to the use of these drafts, he still recurred to what he insisted they had said to him, & endeavoured to excuse himself upon that ground. I then inquired why those drafts were indorsed to the Bank of Maryland, and presented for payment by that

Bank; and even if he supposed himself justified in aiding the Bank of Maryland to the amount of $200.000 why was not a credit given to it at the Union Bank to that amount, which was the usual course, when one Bank aided another, and what reason was there for departing from it in this instance—and as according to his own admission he knew that the Bank of Maryland had been engaged in heavy stock Speculations and had become embarrassed by them, did he not perceive that this mode of proceeding was calculated to bring upon me the most unworthy suspicions & to do me serious injury as an officer; that it was well known that I had refused to appoint more than one Deposite Bank in Baltimore; that the Bank of Maryland had applied for the appointment and that I had refused it; that the Bank of Baltimore an institution of the highest character, had as he well knew been earnestly pressed upon me, and had been refused upon the ground that it was not desirable to have more than one Deposite Bank in Baltimore; and yet he had collected these drafts in an unusual manner and such as would naturally give rise to a suspicion that there was some covert and indirect connection, between the Treasury Department & the Bank of Maryland; and that while I did not dare to make it a deposite Bank in the face of the known public opinion of the city, which was in favor of the Bank of Baltimore, yet that I was in an indirect way giving it the use of the public money; and as it seemed from what he now told me, that this Bank had Speculated largely in stock, and was holding on to it in order to obtain a better price, the public would very probably believe that I was apprised of its condition and secretly interested in these stock speculations; & that I was betraying the confidence placed in me by the President, & using the public money for my own private emolument; and that much as I was dissatisfied with the collection of the drafts in opposition to my instructions, I considered the manner in which they were collected by indorsing them to the Bank of Maryland as still more reprehensible, in as much as it was calculated to bring in question my personal honor and to impair the public confidence in my integrity as an officer. In reply to this Mr. Ellicott said, that he had not thought of the subject in the point of view I had taken of it when he indorsed the drafts, & he was sorry that he had collected them in that manner; that the Bank of the U. States was continually attacking that little Bank, & he thought if the former supposed that the Bank of Maryland had a friend that was able & determined to support it, it would probably let it alone. He said it had not occurred to him at the time, that it could do me any injury; and that he certainly would not have done it, if he thought it might be used to implicate my character. This explanation, by Mr. Ellicott certainly did not mend the matter. It was an admission that he intended to hold me out as covertly connected with that Bank, & as giving it the use of the public money, when I had publickly refused to make it one of the Deposite Banks.

The interview lasted until late at night—and the aforegoing statement contains the substance of our conversation although I do not pretend to give the words used, or the exact order in which the subjects were men-

tioned. The state of things in Baltimore as represented by Mr. Ellicott filled me with anxiety, and I at length said to him that the information he had given me was unexpected & had taken me by surprize—that I must reflect upon it before I could decide what was proper to be done; and asked him how much more money would in his opinion be necessary, to enable him to sustain the Baltimore Banks. He said at least $500.000 in addition to what I had already given to the Union Bank.—I told him the sum was large for Baltimore, and would be $300.000 more than I had sent to Philadelphia the very seat of the Banks power; He however insisted that nothing less than the sum he had mentioned would make matters safe, & if I did not transfer it without delay I must not blame him if I soon heard from Baltimore the mist disastrous news. I told him I would reflect upon what he had said that night & requested him to call at 10 oclock the next morning (Sunday) when I would give him an answer. We then parted for the night.

It required but little reflection to make up my mind to refuse Mr. Ellicotts application for half a million of dollars, in addition to what I had already given. Assuming what he stated to be true that the Banks in Baltimore were in a hazardous condition, & ready to fall under the pressure—or panic already produced, it was quite obvious that they were in no condition to go through the severe trials which were yet before them; and that the transfer of so much money from the Bank of the U. States, would only post-pone the evil day & make it infinitely more disastrous to the public when it came. For I was fully sensible that we were yet but in the beginning of the conflict, & that the Bank and its adherents would be able to make the pressure much more severe, and to make the panic more general and intense, than it had yet been. It would therefore have been unpardonable in me to withdraw a half million of dollars of public money from that Bank where it was unquestionably safe, & place it in institutions which were confessedly in imminent danger of suspending payment. It was true that according to Mr. Ellicotts view of the matter, this determination would produce the total overthrow of my fiscal plan & I should be driven from public life almost as soon as I had entered on it with disgrace & contempt. This to be sure was sufficiently trying. I felt that it would be abundantly mortifying to see the plan defeated by the Bank, even after an arduous & protracted struggle but that it would be infinitely more galling to find the machinery in which I had expressed so much confidence, & upon the strength of which I had hazarded such great interests, falling to pieces & proving to be utterly worthless even before it had fairly got into operation; and I was sensible that if the event did take place, I should be regarded throughout the U. States as a weak and ridiculous pretender, who had presumptuously and impertinently undertaken the management of great national concerns in the results of which millions of freemen were concerned & millions of property would be sacrificed. But whatever might be the effect upon myself personally the path of duty was a plain one. As a public officer I had no right to put to hazard the public money entrusted to my charge, upon any con-

siderations merely personal to myself. I had removed the deposites and given the transfer drafts in the confident belief that the money was as safe in the Union Bank as in the Bank of the U. States,—but the President of that Bank had now informed me that the other Banks in Baltimore were generally in danger of falling immediately unless propped up by the Treasury Department, and if I relied on his information I ought not to trust any more money to the Union Bank, because I could not hope that it had escaped altogether the general infection. Instead of placing more money in it, it was my duty to endeavour to secure what was already in its hands.

I did not however entirely rely on what Mr. Ellicott now told me. He had throughout this interview spoken in tones of great despondency, and appeared to be in a state of much uneasiness and alarm. His whole deportment was unlike his usual manner;—and as I knew that every means of intimidation was resorted to by the Bank of the U. States, & knew that Mr. Ellicott was personally unpopular in Baltimore, I feared that I might have overrated his firmness and that he had become alarmed by the threats of bankruptcy & ruin continually sounded in his ears, & intimations of the heavy responsibility that would rest upon him for the part he had acted, in advising the removal, & undertaking the agency. He appeared to me to be confused & indistinct in his language and to have lost his self possession; for I could in no other way account for his most unjustifiable attempt to hold me out to the public as indirectly furnishing public money to the Bank of Maryland to support its stock speculations; nor for the manner in which he spoke of Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine & their statements to him and to myself. I feared that his courage had given way and that he felt the influence of the rising panic;—and that I had been unfortunate on that account in selecting his Bank as one of the fiscal agents. It was too late however to think of a change in that respect; but the suspicion that he was losing his coolness & self possession was certainly no reason for trusting him with more of the public money, than was absolutely unavoidable.

Accordingly when he called on Sunday morning at the appointed hour, I told him that I had reflected on what he had said and had made up my mind; that upon the statement he had made to me of the condition of things in Baltimore I had committed a great error in changing the Depository of the public money; and had already placed more of it in jeopardy than I ought to have done; that I should therefore not only decline making any further transfer to the Union Bank, but must endeavour to save what I had already put to hazard; that he must immediately return to me the transfer draft for $100.000 which his Bank still held, and that on his return to Baltimore he must require the Bank of Maryland to sell its Stocks at any sacrifice & replace in the Union Bank the $200.000 that he had imporperly given to it; and that the Union Bank must hold it when received ready to meet a draft from the Department; that I had given these transfer drafts under the impression that the State Banks in Baltimore were in a healthy condition, & to enable him to meet the hostility of the

Bank of the U. States; but according to his statement the State Banks were not worthy of trust and it would be a flagrant breach of my official duty after receiving such information, to suffer the public money to remain at hazard; that I hoped his view of the monetary affairs in Baltimore was more alarming than the reality, & that he had possibly unconsciously to himself felt the influence of the panic around him; yet as I could not from any knowledge of my own say positively that he was mistaken, I must to a certain extent act upon the information he had given & not suffer public money to be withdrawn from a safe Depository and placed in one he himself represented as insecure; and that although I was fully sensible of the disgrace and ridicule which would follow the sudden failure of my schemes of finance, yet considerations merely personal ought not to influence my conduct, & that I should not be justified in hazarding the public money in order to postpone the evil day; nor upon the bare possibility of escaping the danger.

Mr. Ellicott appeared to be perfectly astounded by this reply to his application. He had manifestly hoped for a different one; and after a moments pause, he proceeded with much appearance of excitement to complain that this decision was in violation of the assurances I had given him before deposites were removed; that he never would have engaged in the business if he had not believed, that he would be supported by the Department; that he had done right in the aid he had given to the Bank of Maryland under my general instructions to support solvent State institutions; and again insisted that Mr. Johnson and Mr. Perine on their return from Washington had told him that the $200.000 which they brought with them were intended for that Bank; and that he did not see what the Bank of Maryland had done to exclude it from support, nor why he was to be blamed for giving it the aid that would have been given to any other institution which the Bank of the U. States was endeavouring to crush.

I of course answered what he said, and a conversation ensued of some warmth on both sides, in which all of the topics of the evening before were again discussed, & commented on; and in which I again in strong terms expressed my disapprobation of his conduct, & reiterated my determination to make no further transfers to the Union Bank and to insist on the return of what had already been given. After some time, Mr. Ellicott finding that he had no chance of procuring more money, gradually changed his manner, and became more friendly and soothing in his tone, and expressed a hope that matters might not turn out to be so bad as he had feared & that perhaps they might get through without any further support from the Treasury; but he begged very hard to be allowed to retain the transfer Draft for $100.000 which he still held. He said that he had no doubt that the Bank of the U. States knew every thing that was done at the Treasury, and while he held this draft, it might in some degree keep them in check; but if he was compelled to return it, the Bank would regard it as proof of my loss of confidence in him, & of my determination to give the State Banks in Baltimore no support against their attacks, & would encourage them to proceed in their hostile designs; that the return

of the draft would necessarily be known to the officers of the Department; & would thereby be made public, & the recall of this draft so soon after it was given, and while the severity of the pressure still continued, would impair the credit of the Union Bank & might do it serious injury, especially as I did not at that time propose to recall the transfer drafts which had been sent to New York & Philadelphia. After some discussion between us there seemed to be great force in his remarks on this head, and I finally agreed that he might retain the draft, but with the express understanding that it was not to be used without first consulting me & receiving my permission unless the emergency should be so sudden as to make it necessary to use it in order to save a solvent Bank. With this understanding we parted, he carrying with him however my injunctions to compel the Bank of Maryland to restore the amount it had received with as little delay as possible. He left me in time to go in the evening stage of that day; and I observed with Surprize, that before he took leave, his manner and conversation had become tranquil and cheerful and that the gloomy aspect he wore at our first meeting had entirely disappeared. And yet he had totally failed in the object of his journey, which was to obtain an addtional transfer of a half million of dollars; and had to struggle hard to retain what had been already given. It struck me as odd and awakened some unpleasant suspicions.

Amos Kendall now Post-Master General was present at this conversation. He had been employed by the Department before I came into it to enquire into the condition of the state Banks in the prinicipal atlantic cities & to ascertain whether they would be safe and convenient depositories of the public money, & upon what terms they would undertake it. He had I knew taken much pains to inform himself upon this subject, and I sent for him on Sunday morning, in order that he might hear what Mr. Ellicott had to say, & see how far it corresponded with the information he had obtained when he made his inquiries in Baltimore. And when Mr. Ellicott left us he told me he feared he was not dealing frankly with me; and if he had been in my place he would not have suffered him to retain the draft remaining in his hands & would have compelled him to return it forthwith. I admitted that Mr. Ellicotts conduct had created painful doubts in my own mind—that I yet hoped it was the effect of over anxiety, in the new position in which he was placed and that his errors had perhaps arisen from confining his view too much to Baltimore interests, and not looking beyond them; that from long and close intimacy with him, I felt most unwilling to doubt the integrity of his motives, or his fidelity to the public;—but that there was certainly enough to create unpleasant feelings and that I should thereafter be watchful and cautious where he was concerned.

These communications with Mr. Ellicott however created too much anxiety to allow them to be immediately dropped from my mind; and the more I though of them the more I was dissatisfied. Was it possible that Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine knew that the Bank of Maryland was embarrassed by its speculations when they represented it as firm and a[s]

flourishing and as having advanced largely to support the Bridge and Bank company? and when they urged a further transfer of public money to Baltimore, upon public grounds in order to support the state institutions against the hostile designs of the Bank of the U. States, were they deliberately deceiving me & intending to obtain the money, in order to have it applied for their own private emolument and to carry out speculations by the Bank of Maryland in which they had a deep personal interest? and had they misrepresented my conversations to Mr. Ellicott so as to mislead him? I could not believe that either of these gentlemen could be guilty of such conduct. On the other hand Mr. Ellicott in one breath justified the use of the drafts on the ground that he was authorized to do so, by my official instructions; and insisted that the contingency had in fact arisen upon which it was his duty to use them; but in the next moment he declared he would not have used them if it had not been for the verbal statements of Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine who told [him] they were intended for the Bank of Maryland. These two grounds of justification taken by Mr. Ellicott were inconsistent with one another, and the last was decidedly offensive as it implied that I had contradicted my public and official orders, by a private communication sent on the same day. Again it was hardly possible that the Banks of Baltimore could be in the condition he now represented them unless he had been insincere in his assurances of their firm and healthy State so solemnly made to me about a fortnight before. Nothing had happen[n]ed in the mean time that could so greatly have changed the face of affairs;—and his opportunities when he made the first statement were quite as great, as they were now, Besides the manner in which he had collected the drafts, by indorsing them to the Bank of Maryland was—highly objectionable, & the motive he had assigned for it was still worse—and for this he did not pretend that he had relied on any representation or suggestion from Mr. Johnson or Mr. Perine but admitted it to be altogether his own act. No excuse could be found for this contrivance to fix on me the suspicion of a covert connexion with the Bank of Maryland, in any supposed alarm or confusion of mind on the part [of] Mr. Ellicott. The proceeding & the object of it had all the marks of cool and deliberate design; and I feared that Mr. Ellicott had brought with him into his fiscal agency his mercantile notions of morality, which holds it lawful to make money out of the public by crooked ways and ingenious contrivances. Reflecting carefully on all that had passed I did not believe, that the state Banks in Baltimore were generally unsound and ready to fall; I did not believe that the Bank of Maryland was embarrassed or in any danger; and I strongly suspected that Mr. Ellicott was himself in some way deeply concerned in the operations of that Bank, & that he was seeking to obtain all the money he could in order to carry through profitably some speculations in which it was engaged or had in view; and I thought it very likely that pursuing eagerly this object, in the true spirit of trade he had not even thought of the deep injury he might inflict on the character of one for whom he professed the warmest friendship.

Under these impressions—I felt that if the appointment of a Bank in Baltimore was still open, the Union Bank would be an improper selection But it had been publickly announced, as a Deposite Bank and had entered on the duties of its agency; and to dismiss it at that time of excitement would unquestionably have not only destroyed public confidence in that Bank, but in the whole scheme, & would probably have produced a general suspension of specie payments. I doubted whether I ought to write to Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine, and inform them of what Mr. Ellicott had said of them, & require an explanation. But this would necessarily have produced some collision and ill-blood between them out of which a controversy might grow and produce mischief both to the Union Bank & the Bank of Maryland. Upon the whole it seemed most adviseable to let Mr. Ellicott feel that any future departure from his official instructions would not be tolerated; that I would not suffer him to defend himself under pretence of private communications at variance with his public instructions; and that in the duty of his agency the public interests must not be hazarded for private emolument. I had hopes by this means of awakening him to a sense of the duties which his public station imposed upon him, and if I failed to do so, I should yet be able to prevent mischief by carefully watching over his conduct. After much reflection on the then posture of affairs this seemed to be the wisest course; and hence began the correspondence which Mr. Ellicott has so grossly endeavoured to falsify.

Accordingly on Monday the 7th. I addressed him the following official letter requiring an explanation of his conduct in using the two drafts sent by Mr. Johnson and Mr. Perine. (here insert it. No. 5) Apprehending that he might according to his notions of things as displayed in his recent conduct suppose that this official letter was intended merely for my public justification, I determined to shew him that I was in earnest, and therefore on the same day wrote him a private letter, expressing very clearly my opinions in relation [to] his conduct. I kept no copy of this letter—but I believe it is truly given in Mr. Ellicotts pamphlet (page 71) (here insert it) No. 6. Mr. Ellicotts letter of the 8th. is his answer to this picture letter, and according to the usual course of the mail at that time was received by me on the morning of the 9th. It is in substance correctly given in his pamphlet, but as I have the original it is proper to insert it in his own words.—He also wrote me a few lines on the same day at a later hour. (here insert Nos. 7. 8.)

In the publication of Mr. Ellicott he represents my letter of the 11th. as the answer to his first letter of the 8th. & thereby makes me say that I had read that letter with pleasure. I read it with nothing like pleasure but on the contrary with strong feelings of dissatisfaction, as Mr. Ellicott well knows, and as my reply to it will shew. My objections were these. In the first place he insists that the use of the drafts were [sic] justified by the spirit of my official instructions; and so far his private letter is consistent with his official justification. But he again as he had before done in conversation, justifies himself upon the representations of Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine, & says that but for these representations he would

not have advised this use of the drafts. This portion of his defence as I have already said was inconsistent with the other, because if the contingency had substantially arisen under which he was authorized to use the drafts, it was his duty to have collected them independently of any representations made by Mr. Johnson or Mr. Perine. Moreover this excuse formed no part of his public official justification; & it was highly objectionable because I had already expressed to him in conversation my strong dissatisfaction with any attempt on his part to justify his conduct upon private verbal communications varying in any degree from my official instructions;—such a defence being personally offensive, in as much as it implied that my official Letters were merely illusory and intended to deceive the public. I could not well account for the repetition of this defense in writing after the decided reprobation I had just given to it in conversation; and it seemed to me that he either was not sensible of the nature of his & my obligations to the public, and supposed that our official correspondence was to be mere form while my real wishes were to be communicated in some crooked and disingenuous manner; or he desired by putting that principle in a private letter to have it in his power to fasten the imputation upon me, & excuse himself for any thing he might do under pretence of some private message or round about communication. I did not then suppose that he was capable of the last mentioned design; but his conduct and communications were altogether unsatisfactory, and there was a good deal of flourish too in the letter, about taking the responsibility of what had been done as if he supposed I did not in truth disapprove of it, but merely wished to escape the responsibility of having authorized it. I determined therefore to make Mr. Ellicott understand how seriously I disapproved of his conduct; and I kept a copy of that letter, because I thought I saw enough to put me on my guard, if not to destroy my confidence in him. In answer therefore to his letter of the 8th. which [I] received on the morning of the 9th. I wrote to him on the 10th. a letter of which the following is a copy. (here insert it) No. 9. This letter it will be seen from its context was written under some excitement, and things are said in it that I am sensible must mortify Mr. Ellicott. It so happened that on the day I wrote to him, he also wrote to me two letters before he received mine. His letters of the 10th. are in the following words. (Here insert them.)—No. 10. 11. These letters must have been received on the morning of the 11th., and every one will see that my letter of the 11th. is the answer to these two, and not to the letters of the 8th. My letter of the 11th. is given in Mr. Ellicotts pamphlet in the following words. here insert it—No. *12* (page 75) I have no reason to suppose that the language of my letter so far as it goes is not correctly given in the Pamphlet. I presume it is. But my impression is that the conclusion of that letter contained a reference to my letter of the 10th. and a repetition of the injunction there given to regard my official instructions as his only rule of action. If I am right in my recollection, the motive of Mr. Ellicott in mutilating this letter is sufficiently obvious. If it contains the paragraph which I think it does, Mr. Ellicott could not publish it

without betraying the fraud he was committing in suppressing my letter of the 10th. and representing this letter as the answer to his of the 8th. The existence of this paragraph is however of no importance except only as it would shew the extent to which Mr. Ellicott is prepared to go to accomplish his purposes. The letter as far as given I believe to be genuine. And when it is read in its proper order in the correspondence, as an answer to his letters of the 10th. it will be seen that there is nothing in it inconsistent with any thing else that I have written or said.

It is proper to call the attention of the Reader to a few passages in this letter, as compared with the letters which precede it.

1. It will be observed that the tone of this letter is far more conciliatory & kind than my preceding letter of the 10th. The reason is plain enough. His letter of the 10th. informs me that the money he had improperly given to the Bank of Maryland was about to be restored to the union Bank according to my injunctions in the interview at Washington, which were repeated in my letter of the 7th. I therefore began my reply by saying I had ' read his letter with pleasure '

2. After answering some questions which he very earnestly puts to me in his letter of the 10th. I proceed to explain some passages in my former letter. The object of that paragraph is manifestly to temper those expressions in the former letter which might be thought harsh & to put an end to any unpleasant feeling that might have arisen from them.

3. The next paragraph is occasioned by that sentence in his letter in which he says, that he will not use the remaining draft of $100.000 except in the last extremity—*' and not then unless Thee gives me more latitude of discretion in its use than I now feel myself to possess.'* In my letter of the day before I had said to him that no Bank should be a Deposite Bank, which was engaged in stock Speculations, or which supported a Bank which was thus employed—And after reading the part of his letter above mentioned, I was afraid that under my verbal injunctions before mentioned, followed by the menacing character of my letter of the 10th. he would be afraid to use the money in his hands to support a solvent Bank actually run upon and assailed at the same time by the Bank of the United States, if it had been engaged in any stock transactions; and that with the means in his hands to avert the evil, he might yet suffer some solvent Bank to stop; It was necessary therefore to modify what I had said, & it is done in the paragraph of my letter of which I am speaking. It is to be observed that this modification related to the draft which he still held which had been sent to him before Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine arrived in Washington, and he does not pretend that these gentlemen gave him any reason to suppose that this draft was designed for the Bank of Maryland. This enlargement of his discretion therefore was evidently not intended for the benefit of that Bank,—especially as his letter gave me to understand that this Bank did not need it, but was in a condition to restore in a short time what had already been given to it.

In the same paragraph I again apprise him that the Bank of Maryland

& no other Bank must be allowed to hold on to the public money in order to sustain itself in speculations in stocks.

4. It will be observed further that Mr. Ellicott suppresses his second letter of Octr. 8th. The publication of that letter would have shewn that mine of the 11th. could not be an answer to his letters of the 8th. For in the concluding paragraph I express my pleasure that the Bridge & Bank Company were through its difficulties, when his 2d. letter of the 8th. told me that it was then in [?] peril. ⟨*I have since been very much inclined to think that all of the difficulties of that miserable little Bank were got up & magnified by Mr. Ellicott in order to induce me to advance money to the Union Bank, to support commercial credit while he secretly intended to use it for his own selfish purposes.*⟩

Mr. Ellicott would I have no doubt be quite ready to say that he never received from me a letter of the 10th. Fortunately I have proof under his own hand that he received it, and according to his own account it *' gave him the blues.'* His letter of the 12th. acknowledges the receipt of my letters of the 10th. & 11th. and it will be remarked that in this letter he does not pretend that he was influenced by the Statements of Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine in his advances to the Bank of Maryland, but places it entirely on the same ground that he had put it [on] in his official justification. The following is his letter of the 12th.—(here insert it) *No. 13.* My correspondence with Mr. Ellicott upon the subject of these drafts closed here.—I have no recollection of any other private letters written to him except in relation to the ordinary business of the Treasury until after the failure of the Bank of Md.

The one concerning the application of Mr. Whitney [17] for the appointment of agent already [has] been published with the report of the committee of the House of representatives who were appointed to investigate that subject. There were undoubtedly others but they must have related to some of the ordinary business of his agency, or to occurrences in Congress. I have no copies of them. Mr. Ellicott never came to Washington to give the explanation he promised in this letter, and I never heard from him any thing more upon the subject. He was in Washington some time afterwards, & wished to converse with me on the subject of the currency; but finding me too busy to see him, he wrote to me a letter stating his notions on that question & suggesting the plan he wished to see adopted by the Treasury Department. But nothing more ever took place between us, either in conversation or in writing in relation to these drafts after his letter of the 12th. of October- I have many of his letters giving me reports of the monetary concerns in Baltimore & elsewhere from time to time, & remarking upon the course of events in Congress; and the tone of his letters continued as friendly & confidential as ever until the Bank of Maryland stopped payment. New difficulties then arose

[17] Reuben M. Whitney was a former director of the Bank of the United States who became one of its bitter enemies. The agency which Taney here depicts him as seeking was that of coordinator of the pet banks (See Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 244).

between us which ended in a total loss of confidence in him on my part & produced consequently a final separation. I proceed to state them. It will be observed however that they have no relation to these transfer drafts, nor to the differences of which I have been speaking.

[The manuscript ends at this point. Either Taney did not go on, or the remainder has been lost. From the pattern of fading on the last sheet, it is apparent that this was all that had been included under the old label with a notation on it in Taney's hand.]

RECRUITMENT OF UNION TROOPS IN MARYLAND, 1861–1865

By CHARLES B. CLARK

THE sharp division of sentiment in Maryland during the Civil War made the recruitment of Union troops an uncertain and difficult process. Many otherwise loyal Unionists refused to volunteer, citing as their reason the Union's coercive measures. Southern sympathizers, of course, gave no more support than compelled to give. Theirs is another story.

Maryland furnished 46,638 men in response to the various Federal calls.[1] This was nearly 25,000 short of the 70,965 total quotas set for the State by the War Department.[2] In only one year—1864—did Maryland meet her quotas. Altogether, the State contributed thirty-five military organizations, consisting of cavalry, light and heavy artillery, and infantry units.[3] Total losses were not great, numbering 2,982 of whom 1,160 died of diseases. Only 909 men were killed or mortally wounded.[4]

The State was particularly lax and deficient in filling her early quotas. President Lincoln's first call for troops on April 15, 1861, set Maryland's quota at 3,123. Not a single soldier was recruited under this call. Before Governor Hicks finally set the wheels in motion to meet the quota, Lincoln had issued his second call on May 3 for 500,000 men for three years. Ultimately, Maryland

[1] *Official Records*, Series 3, IV, 72-74, 1264, 1269; Series 3, V, 730-745; Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, p. 39. See Appendix A for a tabulation of the various calls and drafts and Maryland's response. Appendix B gives an additional breakdown on the same. Appendix C shows draft exemptions in Maryland and Appendix D shows bounties paid.

In comparison, Delaware raised 12,284 men; Kentucky, 75,760; Missouri, 109,111; West Virginia, 32,068. Maryland contributed more men than New Hampshire (33,937); Vermont (33,288), and most western states.

Maryland furnished 8,718 colored troops, exceeded only by Kentucky's 23,703, and not considering the 99,337 colored troops raised in southern states. Maryland also gave 3,925 sailors and Marines. Dyer, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[2] *Official Records*, Series 3, IV, 1269, hereafter cited as OR.

[3] Dyer, *op. cit.*, p. 25, 29.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 12. Of the remainder, 647 died as prisoners of war, 98 from accidents, and 168 from other non-battle causes.

raised 9,355 men of the 15,578 requested of her by this call.[5] In Baltimore there was great resistance to joining up. A Southern-sympathizing newspaper of the city described it as an "up-hill business." Every deception, said the *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, was practised to induce the citizenry to enlist and this in turn led to the desertion of roughly one-half of the enlistees. "This is a plain statement of facts and certainly indicates, to some extent, the war spirit in Maryland." [6]

The Federal Government was hesitant to furnish arms to locally raised troops unless they were of known loyalty. Many men would enlist only for local service. In October, 1861, J. Crawford Neilson of Harford County offered 5,000 cavalrymen to Major General John A. Dix, in command of the Department of Pennsylvania with headquarters in Baltimore. Neilson proposed that the Federal Government equip these troops. Dix, however, replied that the Government preferred these men be enlisted in the regular service rather than formed into local companies. There was no assurance, he said, that Neilson and his men would not take Federal arms and join the Confederacy.[7]

Officers of the Maryland militia and leading loyal citizens, however, usually met with greater receptiveness. They petitioned the Secretary of War for the right to organize regiments of loyal citizens. Normally they first approached the Maryland Governor, Thomas Holliday Hicks and later Augustus W. Bradford, for backing. In this manner, Francis Thomas, a Maryland Representative in Congress, organized four regiments of infantry to protect the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the residences and property along the Potomac River in the western counties. Thomas later offered four cavalry companies to be attached to the infantry regiments. A leading problem growing out of this method of raising military forces concerned the method of officer selection. In the beginning, soldiers organized in the manner described were allowed to elect their company officers but President Lincoln appointed their officers of field grade and above.[8] Federal authorities set strict requirements for company officers and those

[5] *OR*, Series 3, IV, 1264.
[6] *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, August 20, 1861.
[7] Dix to Neilson, October 29, 1861. *OR*, Series 1, V, 632-633.
[8] Secretary of War Cameron to Francis Thomas, July 19, 1861. *OR*, Series 3, I, 338-339. See letter of D. C. H. Emory to Governor Bradford, November 28, 1861, on behalf of Dr. Henry Howe Goldsborough of Queen Anne's County who desired a military appointment. Bradford MSS.

not measuring up were quickly deprived of their commissions.[9] In 1862 another Maryland Representative in Congress, Edwin H. Webster, was commissioned by Governor Bradford to organize the Seventh Maryland Regiment.[10] There developed considerable confusion over the appointment of regimental and company officers for volunteers raised in the State. Governor Bradford sought the advice of the Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton, who decided to allow Bradford to appoint such officers with the aid of the Adjutant General. He was also given the right to remove officers appointed by the War Department who proved incompetent. General Dix was directed to create a military board in Baltimore to decide upon the competency of officers if their qualifications were contested.[11]

Correspondence between the War Department and Maryland officials was heavy throughout the conflict. Steady requests poured into the State for additional troops. At no time did there seem to be agreement on the number of men from the State in the Federal service. The War Department requested lists of all men used as home guards, as well as for rosters of all men not mustered. Such data was essential in the planning of pay and supplies. Many communications from Maryland contained applications for commissions as officers.[12] The existence of both State-inspired and Federal-directed recruitment caused constant confusion and uncertainty. For example, Governor Bradford issued a proclamation on May 28, 1862, after consultation with Federal authorities, by which he sought volunteers to fill two regiments that were to be accepted by the War Department. Colonel William Louis Schley of the Fifth Maryland Volunteers was detached from his command to superintend the enlistment of these volunteers.[13] It is not known how many troops were enlisted as a result of this proclamation, but the response was not adequate. On June 18 the War Department notified Governor Bradford that additional troops were needed at once.[14] Ten days later Lincoln

[9] James Lesley, Jr., Chief Clerk of the War Department, to Francis Thomas, July 26, 1861. *OR*, Series 3, I, 353.

[10] *Baltimore Sun*, August 15, 1862.

[11] *OR*, Series 3, I, 930-931, 951-952; Executive Letter Book (Maryland) 1862, pp. 263-265.

[12] For typical examples of such correspondence, see *OR*, Series 3, II, 16, 114; *Ibid.*, I, 930-931, 777, 799.

[13] For Bradford's proclamation see Bradford Diary, May 28, 1862, and *Baltimore American*, June 3, 1862.

[14] L. Thomas, Adjutant General, to Bradford, *OR*, Series 3, II, 163.

received a letter signed by Bradford and the governors of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Michigan, and the heads of the military boards and the governors of Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, Minnesota, Illinois, and Wisconsin, which urged him to follow up the recent successes of the Federal Army at New Orleans, Norfolk, and Corinth, and to end the rebellion at once. They were confident sufficient troops could be raised for the purpose if the President gave permission.[15] Lincoln thanked them for their patriotism, and, following consultation with Secretaries Seward and Stanton issued a call on July 2, 1862, for 300,000 men, chiefly infantrymen.[16]

Maryland's quota for this new call was 8,532 and Bradford appealed to his fellow Marylanders to meet it.[17] One-third of the troops were to come from Baltimore City. To assist him, Bradford on July 17 named a committee of fifty Baltimore citizens, with John Pendleton Kennedy as chairman. Four days later the committee met and asked the assistance of the Baltimore City Council. Mayor John Lee Chapman called the Council into extra session on July 22 and the upper branch quickly and unanimously appropriated $300,000 for bounties to State volunteers. Two days later, however, the lower branch rejected this proposal and an angry crowd gathered, denouncing and threatening Council members who had refused to vote for the measure. At adjournment, cries of "Hang the traitors!" and "Put them out!" greeted Council members as they prepared to leave. It was necessary for policemen to escort each member home amidst "yells and groans." In an official report to Secretary Seward, the acting commander of the Middle Department stated that only the assurance the Government would take the matter in hand saved one member of the Council from being hanged. A large crowd followed this member, John W. Wilson, with a rope and it was as much as 100 policemen could do to save him.[18]

The action of the lower branch of the Council enraged several Union leaders, including Colonel William L. Schley of the Fifth

[15] Bradford, *et al.* to Lincoln, June 28, 1862, *Ibid.*, Series 3, II, 180.
[16] *Ibid.*, 187-188.
[17] *Baltimore American*, July 4, 1862; Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, V, Diary, pp. 36-37.
[18] William D. Whipple, in command of the Middle Department while General Wool was away at Wheeling, West Virginia, to Secretary of State William H. Seward. J. T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 627.

Maryland Volunteers; Thomas H. Gardner, Clerk of the Baltimore Criminal Court; and Alfred A. Evans, Warden of the Maryland Penitentiary. They urged Major General John E. Wool, commanding the Middle Department, to arrest members of the Council who had voted against the bounty measure and to replace them with new members. General Wool was opposed to such coercive measures but offered to do what he could without resorting to force or dictation. He consulted members who had voted against the bounty and subsequently nine of them resigned their Council seats.[19] New members were chosen and on September 5 the Council authorized the $300,000 appropriation for bounties. A bounty of $100 was granted to every non-commissioned officer, private, bugler, fifer, and drummer accepted into the several regiments.[20] On August 7 the same body voted $30,000 ance was also passed requiring all city officials, school teachers, for uniforming and equipping Maryland volunteers. An ordinand city employees to take the oath of allegiance.[21]

Meanwhile, an enrollment was underway of all citizens of the State subject to military duty. But enlistments lagged as in the Union generally and the War Department goaded Governor Bradford to fill the State's quota.[22] In desperation, Bradford considered a State draft, and many of his advisers urged that the legislature be called to authorize it. On July 28 a meeting was called in Baltimore by a joint committee of the Union League and the Union City Convention to take steps in that direction. The Governor was named chairman. He explained his action in appointing the aforementioned committee which petitioned the Baltimore City Council for bounty aid, and said he had not called the legislature because there was a " redundancy of patriotism and statesmanship there," and because he feared its members would stir up sectional questions. He had no legal right, he said, to draft men except for three months' service in the State Militia. Conse-

[19] These nine were: President Charles J. Baker, Decatur H. Miller, William Dean, Jesse Marden, Asa Higgins, William Swindell, Joseph Robb, Francis W. Alricks, and John W. Wilson, *Ibid.*; J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 491-492.

[20] *Baltimore American*, September 6, 1862. The upper branch of the Council had passed this ordinance on August 4, but had provided for $350,000 to be paid in bounties, $50 at the time of acceptance into service and $10 in each of the succeeding five months. *Baltimore Republican*, August 5, 1862.

[21] J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 481-492.

[22] C. P. Buckingham, Assistant Adjutant General, to Bradford, July 7, 1862. *OR*, Series 3, II, 208.

quently, it appeared to Bradford and his advisors that Maryland would have to suffer the humiliation of a Federal draft.[23]

President Lincoln appealed again without success to the states on August 1 to meet their quotas.[24] He therefore, in accordance with authority granted him by Congress, ordered a draft of 300,000 men for nine months' service, to be filled by August 15. Maryland's quota was again set at 8,532, to be exclusive of any deficit in the original call for 300,000 volunteers.[25] Under both the call and the draft the State's quota was 17,064 men, a figure it fell far short of as only 3,586 men were recruited and most of them by the draft.[26] Allegany, Kent, and Washington counties had furnished volunteers in excess of their quotas under Lincoln's July 2 call. Kent County was an exception for the Eastern Shore, however, since most Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland counties had many men volunteering for Confederate Service. These counties were heavily hit, therefore, by the Federal draft. But the Civil War draft, unlike that of World War I or World War II, subsequently permitted drafted men to engage substitutes who secured prices ranging from $300 to $700 each in Maryland. Also, "bounty jumping" became a new and extensive scandal in the conduct of the war. Through connivance with corrupt officials, bounty jumpers resold their services with little trouble.[27] Drafting was therefore slow and uncertain in Maryland. Governor Bradford received frequent directions on the details of enrollment and steady orders to hasten the enrollment of all able-bodied men of 18-45.[28] The War Department established a military camp for training recruits near Annapolis under the supervision of General Wool.[29]

Countless persons were arrested in Baltimore for attempting to dodge the draft. The usual procedure was to attempt to escape from the City. About 200 Irish inhabitants departed for Philadelphia on August 7, 1862, but since Philadelphia officials were forewarned, the dodgers were roughly received. Many would pay two or three times the regular fare to Europe. Some

[23] *Baltimore American*, July 29, 1862; *Baltimore Republican*, July 26, 29, 1862.
[24] *OR*, Series 3, II, 289.
[25] *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 1265.
[26] *Ibid.*; *Baltimore American*, August 13, 1862.
[27] Matthew Page Andrews, *Tercentennary History of Maryland*, I, 871.
[28] *OR*, Series 3, II, 317-318.
[29] Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, V, Document No. 57, p. 170.

left for Canada.[30] The situation became so bad that on August 9 Secretary of War Stanton restricted travel, forbidding residents to leave the counties in which they lived. This placed a special hardship upon those in counties bordering on Baltimore who sold their produce or were employed there. Finally, General Wool agreed to permit non-resident males over 45 years of age, all females, and those who could prove they were merely visiting, to move freely to and from the City. Guards were placed at railroad depots, docks, and turnpikes to keep a check on such movements.[31] The city clerk in charge of recruitment was given every possible excuse by those seeking exemption from military service, such as: bad feet, poor eyes, deafness, voting for or not voting for Lincoln, and others. Over three hundred men joined the fire department within a week to escape the draft.[32]

Governor Bradford was eager to fill the State's quota but received poor response time and again from his fellow Marylanders. Efficient himself, he had difficulty obtaining able assistants. Also, many people of the State continued to oppose coercion of the South and paid little attention to his patriotic appeals. Others were not loyal enough to volunteer. On August 12, Bradford issued another of his many proclamations informing the citizens of the State what was expected of them and how they should proceed in the matter of the draft. Colonel John A. J. Creswell of Cecil County was appointed Assistant Adjutant General and Superintendent of Enrollment. Each county and Baltimore City was constituted an Enrollment District, with an enrolling officer at the head of each. After enrollment was complete, legal exemptions were to be allowed. From the remainder, the quota of the State was to be drawn by ballots.[33] On August 25 Bradford notified the War Department that Maryland's enrollment was progressing " as fast as possible " but that the State could not be ready for the draft on September 3 and would need ten additional days. The Assistant Adjutant General, C. P. Buckingham, replied to the Governor on the 27th that he could exceed the time limit only on his own responsibility. Three days later, however, Buck-

[30] *Baltimore Republican*, August 9, 1862.
[31] *Baltimore American*, August 9, 11, 14, 1862.
[32] *Baltimore Republican*, August 11, 1862. See Appendix C for exemptions.
[33] *Baltimore American*, August 12, 13, 1862; Baltimore *Sun*, August 12, 13, 1862. The *American* commended Creswell's appointment, asserting he had the business qualifications, the firmness, and decisiveness necessary. The *Sun* explained in detail how the State's quota was determined.

ingham notified Bradford that the "peculiar situation" in Maryland was appreciated by the War Department and hence the State's quota was being cut to 6,000 men.[34] He also added that no draft was yet underway, only a notice of it having been given.

The reduction in Maryland's quota did not entice men to enlist, nor speed up the drafting. Moreover, Bradford found it necessary to inform Secretary Stanton on September 2 that enrolling officials were menaced with personal violence in several counties and had asked him for protection. He was unable to secure adequate enrolling officials and those he had were in constant fear of their lives and loss of their property. One officer had his grain sacks burned. Bradford asked Stanton for a small military force to support the enrollment officers. He had found Major General John E. Wool, Commanding the Middle Department, unwilling to give such help. The Governor felt that five hundred men would suffice to guarantee enrollment. Until such aid arrived, enrollment would hardly be successful in Maryland.[35] General Wool, meanwhile, explained to Stanton that he could not spare troops to aid enrollment. Furthermore, he observed heatedly that

> If a State cannot enforce its own laws without U. S. soldiers we may as well give up at once. The odium ought not be thrown on the U. S. troops; there is no necessity so for doing. If the State of Maryland cannot enforce enrollment let it be put under martial law. I do not want men who are to be forced into the service. We have now more treason in the Army than we can get along with. This is no fiction.[36]

Enrollment was stimulated in Baltimore City when the City Council passed the aforementioned ordinance on September 5 providing for bounties. Another stimulant was the threat of invasion from the South. When General Lee's Army entered Maryland in this month a direct need for troops was evident. Governor Bradford asked for volunteers by proclamation to fill out infantry and cavalry forces to meet the anticipated siege of Baltimore.[37] Three days later he asked Stanton for infantry arms and equipment for four or five thousand men. Constantly aware and reminded of his State's poor showing in supplying troops to the

[34] For this and related correspondence see *OR*, Series 3, II, 374, 418, 456, 465, 471, 492-493.
[35] *Ibid.*, Series 3, II, 506-507.
[36] *Ibid.*, Series 3, II, 509.
[37] Baltimore *Sun*, September 8, 1862; Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, Diary, p. 75.

Federal Service, the Governor figured to capitalize on Lee's invasion in this respect. He asserted that although the men would be used chiefly to meet the State's emergencies, " those emergencies are just now so intimately connected with the national cause that it would seem to be important in every aspect that we should avail ourselves of the spirit now aroused, and arm as many as possible of our loyal people." [38] Stanton agreed to supply the arms the Governor requested as fast as men could be organized into companies. Consequently, Bradford appealed to the citizens of Maryland again on September 12 to hasten the organization of such companies.[39] Stanton later furnished Maryland with cavalry companies and infantry regiments to help enforce the draft. They were directed by Bradford to act " with all possible discretion, and at the same time with such firmness and determination as will ensure the completion of the Enrollment and Draft and convince those who may threaten to resist it of the futility and folly of such an attempt." [40]

As the weeks wore on, bounties of many kinds were offered to Maryland citizens to encourage their enlistment in the Federal Service. The State as well as its counties and towns supplemented Federal bounties. On September 30, Bradford sent three checks of $1,000 each to the commissioners of Baltimore, Cecil, and Harford counties, as one-third share of a $3,000 donation by the Directors of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad that traversed these counties. The fund was to be used exclusively for bounties for volunteers.[41]

These bounties, plus the scare Lee had given Maryland, the aid given by Federal officials to Maryland's enrollment officers, and the persistent efforts of Governor Bradford enabled him to report, upon request, to the War Department on November 24 that since July 2 four new infantry regiments, one battery, and several cavalry companies had been added to Maryland's " three years'

[38] Bradford to Stanton, September 11, 1862. *OR*, Series 3, II, 537-538.

[39] Bradford Diary, September 12, 1862. Applications for arms were to be filed at the office of William B. Hill, Secretary of State, at 70 W. Fayette Street in Baltimore.

[40] Directions of Bradford to Captain Watkins, in command of a cavalry company attached to the Purnell Legion, Maryland Volunteers, October 13, 1862, Bradford MSS. Captain Watkins was to aid enrollment in Anne Arundel County. See *Ibid.* for similar letter, November 5, 1862, to Colonel Nicodemus, Commanding the Fourth Maryland Volunteers, who was to aid enrollment in St. Mary's County.

[41] Bradford to Commissioners of Baltimore, Cecil, and Harford Counties, September 30, 1862. Executive Letter Book (Md.), 1862, pp. 335-336.

volunteers—in all, upwards of 3,000 men." [42] His report appeared optimistic that the State would supply the 6,000 men required by the revised quota of August 30. A week later, the Governor advised Dr. Thomas I. Dunott, Examining Surgeon at Camp Bradford in Maryland, that all men must be given physical examinations whether or not they had been examined in their counties. Dr. Dunott, suggested the Governor, should make a distinction between the volunteer who would attempt to conceal defects and drafted men who exaggerated them to avoid service. He added that men should not be exempted because of such "technical defects" as deafness or the loss of a finger, a front tooth, or an eye! So long as a man could perform labor, he was fit for service.! [43]

The winter and spring of 1863 saw another decline in recruitment in Maryland. Even the men in service became troublesome. Bradford notified Marylanders by proclamation on March 20 of President Lincoln's warning that Congress had provided punishment for soldiers leaving military service without cause. They would be handled as deserters unless they returned to their regiments by April 1. While the Governor said he realized these men were taking advantage of the leniency hitherto extended to men who walked out of camp to visit home and failed to return, he urged Maryland soldiers to rejoin their units by April 1.[44]

The threatened invasion of Maryland and several other states in June, 1863, prompted President Lincoln to issue a proclamation on June 15 calling the militias of these states into Federal service. No quota as such was specified, but Maryland was to supply 10,000 militiamen for six months to protect her own soil.[45] These men would be credited to Maryland's quotas still effective under previous calls and not filled. Bradford issued a call at once, stating that "every consideration connected with the subject demands that the call should be met by an offer of volunteers. When our own territory is threatened by an invader, let it neve:

[42] *OR*, Series 3, II, 865-866.
[43] Bradford to Dr. Dunott, December 1, 1862. Bradford MSS.
[44] Bradford Diary, March 20, 1863; Baltimore daily newspapers, same date.
[45] *OR*, Series 3, III, 360-361; Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VII, Document No. 69, pp. 309-310. Pennsylvania was to furnish 50,000 men; Ohio 30,000; and West Virginia 10,000—a total of 100,000. Maryland militiamen were to compose 8 regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and two batteries of artillery. The units were to be mustered into Federal service upon attaining minimum strength, and then brought to maximum strength. See James B. Fry, Provost General, to Bradford, June 15, 1863. *OR*, Series 3, III, 362.

be said that we lacked the spirit to meet the emergency, or looked to others to provide for our defense." [46] The Governor invited volunteer militia organizations in Baltimore and other parts of the State to form the nucleus for complete regiments.

Marylanders either did not believe the State was in danger of invasion or had other reasons for failing to respond adequately to this latest call. The Governor renewed his appeal on June 21. He emphasized that any fears that men called up under this latest call would be used outside the State should be set aside. President Lincoln had promised otherwise. But in any event, asked the Governor, what if they were ordered elsewhere? It was their duty to go, for even as he spoke volunteers from six states were manning the defenses on Maryland Heights. Citizens of Maryland, he added, " sheltered as they are under the very shadow of the capital, should be the last in the Union to hesitate over any service of a national character that may be required of them." Bradford noted that some professed loyal men opposed the draft because of their opposition to serving along-side of some disloyal men who had been drafted. This was especially poor reasoning when the " foot of the invader " was on Maryland soil. Baltimore alone needed a thousand or so citizens on its fortifications. " To wield a pick or a spade for such a purpose is fully as honorable and just now quite as essential as to shoulder a musket or unsheath a sword." [47]

Fortunately Lee's armies did not molest the State at large as they passed through enroute to the decisive conflict at Gettysburg. Only 1,615 men answered the call for 10,000 in Maryland. It should be pointed out, however, that Baltimore City, Cecil, Kent, and Washington counties exceeded their assigned numbers. Resistance was great in some other counties. Serious threats were made and some houses actually assaulted and fired upon in Talbot County.[48] When Lee retired into Virginia, the War Department suspended further enlistment under this call.[49]

[46] *Ibid.*, Series 1, XXVII, part 3, pp. 169-170; Bradford Diary, June 16, 1863; Baltimore *Sun*, June 17, 1863.

[47] Bradford Diary, June 22, 1863; Frank Moore, Rebellion Record, VII, Document No. 76, pp. 315-316.

[48] *OR*, Series 3, IV, 1265. For resistance to enrollment see letter of Captain and Provost Marshal John Frazier, Jr., First Maryland District Headquarters at Easton, to Colonel James B. Fry, Provost Marshal General, July 14, 1863, *Ibid.*, Series 3, III, 492. For resistance to enrollment at Jarrettsville, Harford County, see Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VII, Diary, p. 35.

[49] *OR*, Series 3, III, 611 (General Orders No. 268).

A real hornet's nest was stirred up several days later when the *Baltimore Sun* announced that the War Department planned to credit the excess of enlistments in Maryland to the State at large rather than to Baltimore City and to Cecil, Kent, and Washington Counties which had exceeded their quotas while the remainder of the State fell short.[50] This announcement brought a quick retort from George Vickers of Chestertown. He wrote to Governor Bradford that such action would be most unjust. Union men in Kent County had spent much time and money to meet their quota by volunteers in order to escape the draft, while in the " secession counties of St. Mary's, not perhaps six volunteers were supplied." The War Secretary's action would give St. Mary's and other counties the benefit of the patriotic exertions and expenditures of Kent and the aforementioned units which had exceeded their quotas. The disloyal counties, said Vickers, should be compelled to furnish more, not fewer troops at the next call.[51]

Additional agitation developed in August, 1863, when plans were put into motion to recruit colored troops in Maryland. Such a movement was steadily opposed by Union conservatives who objected to connecting the Negro question with the aims of the war in any manner. Federal authorities, however, estimated that eight to ten Negro regiments could be recruited in the State by the proper methods. Impressment, hitherto resorted to, was not now considered a proper method. It had caused the " ablest of them [colored] to run to the woods, imparting their fears to the slaves, thus keeping them out of our lines, and we get only those who are too ignorant or indolent to take care of themselves." [52]

The opposition of many in Maryland to the recruitment of colored troops did not prevail. Colonel William Birney was placed in charge of this activity and set about his task with good qualifications. He was considered a thorough organizer of a regiment and readily commanded the confidence of the Negro. Recruitment stations were set up throughout the State.[53] Meanwhile, Provost Marshal James B. Fry attempted to provide a more

[50] Baltimore *Sun*, August 14, 1863.
[51] Vickers to Bradford, August 14, 1863. Bradford MSS.
[52] Major George L. Stearns, Recruiting Commissioner of Colored Volunteers, to Secretary Stanton, from Philadelphia headquarters, August 17, 1863, *OR*, Series 3, III, 683-684.
[53] *Ibid.*, Series 3, III, 683-684, 937-938. A list of towns where such recruiting stations were set up is included.

uniform and harmonious execution of the enrollment act by assigning to each state capital an officer of rank from his department whose duties were to confer with the Governor and other civil officers, superintend the operations of the provost marshals and boards of enrollment, and provide all rolls and reports he thought should be in the files of the state. In return, he would seek from state officials all information of use to enrollment officers and the War Department. Major Noah L. Jeffries, Assistant Adjutant General of Volunteers, was given this assignment in Maryland. Operating in Baltimore, his services as a general liaison officer seem to have been of value both to the State and the War Department.[54]

The exigencies of the war led President Lincoln to issue proclamations on October 17, 1863, and February 1, 1864, calling for 500,000 additional soldiers for three years.[55] As usual Governor Bradford had chief responsibility for filling Maryland's quotas which came to 10,794. One of Major Jeffries' duties was to assist Bradford. Recruitment was again slow. On December 26 Bradford informed all six months volunteers who proposed to enlist, and all potential recruits, that Congress would cut off Federal bounties after January 5, 1864. He therefore urged that the liberal bounty terms be accepted before they were cancelled; otherwise, a draft would follow with no bounties.[56]

The no-bounty threat did not work, especially during the Christmas season. With the threat of the Federal bounty being cut off, Maryland officials decided the State would have to take up the slack in bounties. A special committee of the House of Delegates reported a Bounty bill on January 27, 1864, which, as finally passed, appropriated $4,000,000 for bounties. The provisions of this measure were explained by Governor Bradford in a public announcement. Every new volunteer (slaves excepted) who enlisted for three years before March 1, 1864, was to receive $300, half of which was to be paid at the time of enlistment, $100 of it in five monthly installments, and the remaining $50 at the end of his service. Volunteers who had already served six months were to receive the same bounty, with $25 extra at the end of

[54] Fry to Bradford, August 18, 1863. *Ibid.*, Series 3, III, 687-689. Detailed orders from Fry to Jeffries are included.

[55] *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 1265, and III, 1012.

[56] Bradford Diary, December 26, 1863, for Bradford's proclamation. It incorporates contents of a circular of the War Department on bounties.

service. Owners of slaves were to receive $100 for each slave enlisted when a valid deed of manumission was filed. The slave would receive $50 at the time of enlistment and $50 at the time of his discharge from service. Except in the case of slaves, the wife or children of the volunteer would receive his bounty in case he was killed in service.[57] The situation was additionally improved when the Federal Government also passed new bounty legislation, so that a veteran reenlisting in Maryland could secure a total bounty of $725 under the new State and Federal systems, while a man enlisting for the first time could obtain $600. Slave owners received $300 from the Federal Government in addition to the $100 provided by Maryland, but the slave himself received no Federal bounty.[58] Meanwhile, the recruitment of colored troops was intensified and many abuses were reported. In Prince George's County, colored troops entered the jail and freed twenty-one prisoners, some of whom were convicted of serious crimes.[59] When Congress extended bounty payments under this new legislation from March 1 to April 1, Governor Bradford urged the State legislature to match the Federal bounties. His request was heeded.[60] Maryland furnished 6,244 of the 10,794 men requested of her.

The next call for troops by Lincoln was on March 14 when he stated that an adequate reserve force of 200,000 men was required. Maryland was to raise 4,317 men and for the first time came through as requested. Altogether, 9,365 men responded.[61] The combination of Federal and State bounties was helping to make loyal men out of many Marylanders! Negro enlistments increased and these were to be credited to the State's quotas. Administrative and other problems, however, continued to be numerous. Bradford and Provost Marshal General Fry, for example, disagreed over the crediting of troops. On May 9, 1864, Bradford wrote to Fry that 7,000 to 8,000 colored troops mustered into

[57] Bradford Diary, February 8, 1864; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, February 10, 1864; Baltimore *Sun*, February 10, 1864. See *Baltimore American*, January 28 and February 2, 4, 5, 8, 1864 for legislative action on the bill.

[58] *Baltimore American*, February 8, 1864.

[59] See letter of State's Attorney Edward W. Belt of Prince George's County to Bradford, March 15, 1864. Executive Letter Book (Md.) 1864, pp. 496-498. See *Ibid.* for Bradford's letters in protest, March 16, 1864, to both President Lincoln and U. S. Senator from Maryland, Reverdy Johnson.

[60] Baltimore *Sun*, March 5, 1864.

[61] *OR*, Series 3, IV, 1265.

Federal service from Maryland were not all credited. It was a " fact universally admitted," he said, " that the State at the lowest calculation has lost of her laborers of this class [colored] at least double the number of those actually mustered into the service, and lost them, too, in a great measure by reason of the irregularities practised by the recruiting officer in taking of those obviously unfit for military service . . ." Some agricultural lands were without labor as a result. The Governor added that he disliked to " dwell at all upon other circumstances in the history of the condition of this State, growing out of the number of her disloyal citizens who have gone South that would entitle the loyal ones at home to liberal considerations; but dealing with us ever so strictly, we have certainly the right to expect full crediting." He asked for " simple justice." [62]

For his part, Fry was not happy over Bradford's complaints. He replied that " due credit " had been given for all Maryland men, including a total of 6,404 colored recruits. He was " unable to discover " wherein Maryland had not been given liberal considerations, nor did he concede that the State had been dealt with " ever so strictly." He added:

> The facts are these, as they appear to me:
>
> First. The quotas assigned to you since March 3, 1863, have all been based upon an enrollment of the white persons found to be still in the State after the disloyal persons had gone South. The quotas being in proportion to the number of men left, the fact that some men had gone South previous to the enrollment worked no hardship.
>
> Second. After being assigned quotas in proportion to the enrollment of white men as above, the slaves were enrolled and are used for filling the quotas of volunteers and draft but have not been counted to increase the quota. That is surely not dealing ' strictly ' with you.
>
> Third. During the years 1861 and 1862 quotas were assigned to your State, as to other States, on the basis of your population. Those quotas were not raised, and on a settlement of your accounts for those years you were found to be deficient 9,892 men. Instead of being added to the number now required of you, as has been the case in other States, this large deficit has been entirely omitted from your account. I think, therefore, that Maryland has received ' liberal considerations ' and that Your Excellency's claim for ' simple justice ' has been more than satisfied.[63]

Recalling Southern incursions in and through Maryland in the

[62] *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 279-280.
[63] *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 281-282.

two preceding summers, Secretary of War Stanton suggested on May 13, 1864, that Governor Bradford as Commander in Chief of the State Militia call out 2,000 men for 100 days. These would be used to relieve other troops at the Baltimore fortifications. " Our arms," Stanton added, " now appear victorious, and a helping hand at the present moment from you might contribute greatly to the speedy restoration of peace. Will you do this? " Bradford was agreeable, but stated arms for these troops would have to be provided by the Federal government.[64] Subsequently, Bradford issued a proclamation calling for men to fill two, or, if possible, three regiments. He emphasized that such men would receive the same pay and rations given to other volunteers and could not be compelled to perform duties outside of the State without his consent.[65] The *Baltimore American* urged men unfit for heavier field soldiery to volunteer for these lighter duties. Storekeepers who could spare clerks would enable veterans to go to the front as well as relieve militia from other states who manned posts in Baltimore, added this journal.[66]

Once again Governors Bradford asserted his convictions that these 100-day volunteers should be credited to the State's overall quota and their names withdrawn from the current draft lists. Secretary Stanton, however, would not allow this, maintaining that such troops were still subject to the draft although he would approve their being credited with the time served locally.[67] This ruling meant there was no particular inducement to serve in the local forces. Consequently, only 1,297 men responded.[68] George Vickers of Chestertown, a frequent correspondent with Bradford, wrote to the Governor of the hardships of raising troops in Kent County under this call. The County Commissioners had to be prevailed upon to appropriate $1800 for bounties, which sum had to be borrowed. Also, said Vickers the loss of farm labor to the service threatened to result in the loss of grain. Without adequate labor, and also unable to raise sufficient funds to acquire

[64] *Ibid.*, Series 1, XXXVII, part 1, 451-452. Stanton's letter to Bradford and Bradford's to Stanton are both dated May 13, 1864.
[65] Proclamation dated May 14, 1864. *Baltimore American*, May 16, 1864; Baltimore *Sun*, May 16, 17, 18, 1864; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, May 16, 1864.
[66] *Baltimore American*, May 14, 1864.
[67] Stanton to Major General Wallace, May 14, 1864, and Wallace to Stanton, same date. *OR*, Series 1, XXXVII, part 1, 458-459.
[68] *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 1266-1267.

reapers, farmers were hard-pressed.[69] Despite such situations, more normal than otherwise by this stage of the war, Bradford continued to urge the people to cooperate. On July 9, 1864, he issued a proclamation jointly with Mayor Chapman of Baltimore declaring that the City was in imminent danger of the approaching enemy and every available man was needed for the City's defense.[70] As a result of this alarm, the City's militia was readied for an attack which never materialized, although Confederate cavalrymen were sighted near the city. Bradford discharged the City militia on July 25, thanking them for their prompt organization and spirit, and urging them to remain intact and to perfect their organization in case of future need.[71] The new commander of the Middle Department, Major General Lewis Wallace, seconded Bradford's appreciation, thanking those " citizens who so promptly and cheerfully took up arms to assist the regular forces of the government," and citing their " courage and loyalty." He further suggested that the city government place their names on " rolls of honor " for future reference.[72]

The situation was not as relieved elsewhere. As the Federal Government sought to end the conflict, one call for troops followed another in monotonous regularity. On July 18, 1864, President Lincoln called for 500,000 men. Unless quotas were filled under this call by September 5, a draft would be conducted. Maryland was to raise 10,947 and came through well again, as in March, ultimately enlisting 10,235.[73] Volunteers under this call were allowed to enlist for one to three years and were entitled to all bounties being paid at the time.

The Western counties—Allegany, Washington, and Frederick, and also Montgomery County—had been subject to rebel invasion and were hard-pressed to furnish their quotas. Governor Bradford joined with Governor A. G. Curtin of Pennsylvania in requesting of President Lincoln that their states be credited with volunteers they contemplated placing on the Potomac River to guard the five or six fords used by the Confederates to raid Maryland and Pennsylvania.[74] In this connection, Provost Marshal

[69] Vickers to Bradford, June 14, 1864, Bradford MSS.
[70] Baltimore *Sun*, July 11, 1864; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, July 11, 1864.
[71] *Ibid.*, July 13, 14, 15, 1864; Baltimore *Sun*, July 13, 1864.
[72] *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, July 18, 1864.
[73] *OR*, Series 3, IV, 515, 1266-1267. The number furnished does not include 31 paid commutations.
[74] *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 533-534.

General Fry advised Secretary Stanton on July 31, 1864, that in accordance with the Act of Congress, approved February 13, 1862, no volunteers or militia of any state would be mustered into Federal service for guaranteed duty purely within states as home or local defense units, except those previously allowed Missouri and Maryland. Fry added that he felt this act was sound; otherwise, regular recruitment would be greatly disrupted. He also felt the plan to fortify and defend five or six fording places not sound. Rather, he would extend the Union frontiers to such points as Strasburg, Front Royal, Warrenton, and Fredericksburg, and defend them at those places. The War Department notified Bradford and Curtin on August 1 that their request was rejected.[75]

Prominent officials and citizens of Washington County, citing that County's fine record in furnishing troops in the past, requested Governor Bradford and Federal authorities to allow the County's excess enlistments of earlier years to be credited to it now. Isaac Nesbit, called by Bradford "one of the most prominent and loyal citizens of Washington County," wrote that the people of his County had

> suffered greatly in every way in the loss of property, and men by emigration, and in the paralyzation of all branches of industrial pursuits; and to take this remaining portion of our able-bodied men without the opportunity like that afforded to other communities to supply their places in some way, would indeed be very hard upon us.[76]

According to a letter from the Mayor, Council, and Clerk of Hagerstown, Washington County and especially Hagerstown had been "the theater of invasions, raids, and strife by the enemy" from early in July until mid-August. Five times the enemy had invaded the county and four times had taken and held actual possession of Hagerstown, the county seat. Large amounts of stock, grain, merchandise, and produce, estimated at $80,000 value, had been carried off, leaving a "helpless people utterly destitute, and in many instances impoverishing and utterly ruining whole families." Washington County was willing, according to this communiqué, but needed time.[77]

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] Nesbit's letter was to Bradford who forwarded it to General Fry. *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 685-686.

[77] This letter, also addressed to Bradford, was likewise forwarded to Fry. *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 685-686, 736-738, 781, 785.

The request of Washington County was not allowed, but the draft was delayed in this county. The draft was rescheduled to begin in the State on September 19. An unsuccessful effort to have it postponed was made by a deputation of Baltimore citizens, including the Mayor, who visited the Secretary of War with this in view.[78]

The draft proceeded rather stormily in Baltimore. The Provost Marshal General's office there notified General Fry on October 16 that "In Baltimore the drafted men mostly escaped before notice could be served upon them or they could be arrested, while forbearance from day to day stimulated volunteering, and thus nearly filled the quota." [79] The final call came on December 19 when President Lincoln asked for 300,000 volunteers for one, two, or three years. Maryland supplied only 4,941 men of the 9,142 assigned her.[80] Despite her fine response to the July call, this poor December response is not surprising in view of the situation described in the fall months.

Until the close of the war, Maryland was plagued by continuing problems of raising troops, providing bounties, and wrangling over the crediting of enlistments. The Maryland House of Delegates petitioned the Federal government in February, 1865, for a postponement of the draft so that the State could fill its quota by volunteers under the provisions of the state bounty law.[81] In March Governor Bradford again warned all Maryland soldiers who had taken the usual unauthorized winter leave to return to their regiments at once. Otherwise, he pointed out, under a new law of Congress, they would be "forever incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under the United States, or of exercising any rights of citizens thereof." [82] Mayor Chapman, meanwhile, vetoed the Baltimore City Council's ordinance that provided $200 bounties to drafted men. This amount, he said, was more than the laboring man of the City could earn, and therefore to grant it would be unfair.[83] The *Baltimore American* differed with the Mayor. Although it had always felt the bounty system

[78] *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 1002.
[79] *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 785.
[80] This number does not include three paid commutations. *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 1267-1268.
[81] *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 1179.
[82] *Baltimore American*, March 29, 1865.
[83] *Ibid.*

improper, it did not feel enlisted personnel should be denied bounties now since those who had enlisted earlier had been awarded them.[84]

When hostilities finally ceased, readjustment to peace was not difficult for Maryland insofar as military manpower problems were concerned. Federal authorities sent Governor Bradford instructions relating to the discharge of home troops.[85] Soon there was little military organization in the State. There did spring up a group of " substitute brokers " who took advantage of the State legislature's delay in paying bounties. They fleeced poor soldiers and circulated false reports that Maryland did not intend to pay the bounties by August 1. But the *Baltimore American* advised that " It is far better for the men to wait until that time than to sell their certificates now at a discount of from $50 to $100, and we hope they will do so, for the benefit of themselves and families. The State will pay the bounty in cash, and not in bonds or certificates." [86] On June 1, 1865, the Treasurer of Maryland accounced that through arrangements made with Baltimore banks, and with the ordinary receipts of the Treasury, the State was able to pay all drafts as presented from that time forward.[87]

Soldiers returning from the field were greeted by Governor Bradford in an address on June 6. To those of the Maryland Brigade he said that their patriotism had taken them to war, for they enlisted voluntraily. Now he could gaze upon their " sunburnt countenances, the tattered uniforms, and the way worn form of the remnant of those gallant and chivalrous men." They had fought for a principle, not from compulsion or pay, he said, and honor was due them for their sterling work throughout the war.[88]

[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *OR*, Series 3, V, 28-29, 37, 42-43.
[86] *Baltimore American*, May 30, 1865.
[87] *Ibid.*, June 1, 1865.
[88] *Ibid.*, June 6, 1865.

APPENDIX A

U. S. Calls and Drafts: Maryland's Contributions [a]

(Details found in text)

Date	U. S. Number Requested	For What Duration	Maryland's Quota	Maryland Furnished	Remarks
Apr. 15, 1861	75,000 Militia	3 months	3,123	0	
May 3, 1861	500,000	3 years	15,578	9,355	
July 2, 1862	300,000	3 years	8,532	3,586 [b]	Results of a call for volunteers by Md. 5/28/62 unknown
August 4, 1862	300,000 Militia	3 years	8,532	0	Quota cut to 6,000
June 15, 1863	Indefinite number of militiamen	6 months	10,000 [c]	1,615	No quota as such, but number expected specified
Oct. 17, 1863 Feb. 1, 1864	500,000	3 years	10,794	6,244	An additional 1,106 paid commutation.
Mar. 14, 1864	200,000	3 years	4,317	9,365	An additional 2,528 paid commutation.
May 14, 1864		100 days	2,000 [d]	1,297	Call by Gov. Bradford at suggestion Secretary War
July 18, 1864	500,000	1, 2, 3, 4 years [e]	10,947	10,266 [e]	An additional 31 paid commutation.
Dec. 19, 1864	300,000	1, 2, 3 years [f]	9,142	4,944 [f]	An additional 3 paid commutation.

Totals

Aggregate quotas for Md. 70,965
Maryland furnished . . . . . 46,672 [g]
Paid commutations . . . . . 3,666 [h]

a Data taken from *Official Records*, Series 3, IV, 1264-70, V, 730-745.
b 3,586 is no. furnished under both calls—July 2 and Aug. 4, 1864.
c For service on Md. soil only.
d For service on Md. soil only.
e 6,198 for 1 yr.; 246 for 2 yrs.; 3,727 for 3 yrs.; 64 for 4 yrs.
f 3,236 for 1 yr.; 430 for 2 yrs.; 1,275 for 3 yrs.
g Author"s addition. *OR*, Ser. 3, IV, 1269 says 46,638.
h Author's addition. *Ibid.* says 3,678.

APPENDIX B

Civil War Drafts, Maryland *

(Additional Data)

	July, 1863		March 14, 1864		July 18, 1864		December 19, 1864	
	U. S.	Md.	U. S.	Md.	U. S.	Md.	U. S.	Md.
Whole number drawn	292,441	5,619	113,446	11,498	231,918	7,090	139,024	5,112
Failed to report a)	39,415	836	27,193	3,812	66,159	2,639	28,477	1,920
Discharged, full quota b)	447		1,227	6	26,416	402	18,011	7
Discharged per order c)	13		69	0	807	0	46,408	1,126
Total—a, b, c	39,875	836	28,489	3,818	93,382	3,041	92,896	3,053
Number examined	252,566	4,783	84,957	7,680	138,536	4,049	46,128	2,059
† Personally held d)	9,881	109	3,416	484	26,205	625	6,845	208
Furnished substitutes e)	26,002	368	8,911	843	28,502	902	10,192	343
Paid commutation money f)	52,288	1,106	32,678	2,538	1,298	31	460	3
Total accepted—d, e, f	88,171	1,583	45,005	3,865	56,005	1,558	17,497	554
Total exempted	164,395	3,200	39,952	3,815	82,531	2,491	28,631	1,505

† Also listed as "Held to personal service."

* *OR*, Series 3, V, 730-739.

APPENDIX C

Draft Exemptions in Maryland *

Exempted because of—	Draft of July 1863	Draft of Mar. 14, 1863	Draft of Jul. 18,1864	Draft of Dec. 19, 1864
1. Physical Disability	1,126	2,150	1,492	716
2. Mental Disability	13	6	4	3
3. Aliens	583	462	195	203
4. Over 45	105	675	385	232
5. Over 35 and married	326	—	—	—
6. Under 20	165	154	81	31
7. Non-residents	16	87	112	59
8. In service when drafted	250	131	44	58
9. Dead	29	32	17	13
10. Erroneous enrollment	64	112	35	24
11. Two years in service	—	4	12	28
12. Rebel deserter	—	1	6	23
13. Slaves	16	—	—	—
14. Discharged, order Secretary War	6	—	—	—
15. Skilled mechanic	—	1	5	11
16. Only son of widow	278	—	—	—
17. Only son of aged parents	72	—	—	—
18. Elected under 4th clause	35	—	—	—
19. Only brother of children under twelve	10	—	—	—
20. Father of motherless children	74	—	—	—
21. Two brothers in service	14	—	—	—
22. Convicted of felony	6	—	—	—
23. Substitute in service, 3/3/1863	12	—	—	—
24. Miscellaneous	—	—	103	104
Total Exempted	3,200	3,815	2,491	1,505

* *OR*, Series 3, V, 730-734.

APPENDIX D

Bounties Paid by Maryland to Its Civil War Soldiers, 1864 *

	Call of March 14, 1864		Call of July 18, 1864		Call of Dec. 19, 1864		
Congressional District	Average cost per man	Aggregate bounty paid	Average cost per man	Aggregate bounty paid	Average cost per man	Aggregate bounty paid	Grand aggregate bounty paid
First							$ 369,000.00
Second	$337.57	$ 843,932.50	$454.10	$552,645	$302.43	$359,900	1,756,477.50
Third	571.21	1,428,017.50	578.63	887,055	227.76	290,400	2,605,472.50
Fourth	164.82	412,056.00	154.73	143,287	570.02	845,912	1,401,255.00
Fifth	9.99	29,990.00	39.53	29,990	129.19	78,807	139,787.00
Total							$6,271,992.00

*(Note: "All information which can be obtained. The grand aggregate is nearly correct, but the aggregates under the different calls cannot be exactly divided." *OR*, Series 3, V, 744-745. Maryland shows no bounties under the calls of 1863. There is no breakdown at all for the 1st Congressional District, only the total).

COVER PICTURE:

OMENHAUSSER'S CONFEDERATE PRISONERS OF WAR SKETCH

THE sketch reproduced on the cover of this issue is one of 46 watercolors made in 1865 by John T. Omenhausser, prisoner of war at Point Lookout Prison, Maryland. The artist's sketchbook, purchased for the Society on March 15, 1945, by a group of members, bears the name " M. H. Church " embossed in gold on the outside cover. A Captain Morris H. Church was a member of the U. S. Veteran Reserve Corps, units of which guarded the prison depot in its early days. In July, 1864, he commanded a guard detail employed in moving prisoners from Point Lookout to Elmira, N. Y. Later, units of U. S. Colored Infantry were assigned to guard duty at the Point.[1] Nothing is known of the artist Omenhausser, and information about him will be welcomed.

In bright colors the primitive sketches vividly depict many facets of prison life—the fashioning of trinkets, the eternal scrounging for clothing, food and warmth, and the quarreling of the inmates among themselves and with their guards. Explanatory legends, rich in male humor and gentle satire, accompany the drawings.

The cover picture shows, on the left, a mild dispute as to priority in the purchase of freshly cooked hominy. The purveyor waves a spoon in protesting, " Gentlemen don't quarrell, [*sic*] there's enough for all, I'm only sorry that I have not got more plates to accomodate [*sic*] you at once." The crouching prisoner tries the power of suggestion with, " Wish them fell[ow]s would get into a fight, and kick over the kettle of corn. Wouldn't I eat." On the right the auctioning of a penknife is momentarily halted by a doubter who demands to examine the knife, saying, " I don't buy a cat in the bag." The dejected prisoner seated

[1] *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 2, VII, 488, 489; *In Vinculis; or, The Prisoner of War*, by A Virginia Confederate, [Anthony W. Keiley] (Petersburg, 1866), p. 69.

in the center engages in the daily task of plucking " graybacks " from his shirt. From the raised parapet above one can almost hear the measured pace of the ever-present sentinel.

Designated as a prisoner of war depot on July 20, 1863, Point Lookout was to accommodate a maximum of 10,000 men.[2] By April 1864 the prisoner population was 12,617, and a year later it reached a peak of 20,110. The last tabulation, totaling 18,836, was made in June, 1865. Official figures list 2,950 deaths and 50 escapes during the 24 months of operation.[3] However, later investigations relative to re-internment and to the erection of a monument commemorating the Confederates who died there, raised the number of known deaths to 3,384.[4]

Life at the Point was the subject of several full accounts by former prisoners.[5] One by Anthony M. Keiley, later mayor of Richmond, Va., is vehement in tone, but lacks the bitterness which might have led to exaggeration. The following passage, from his *In Vinculis; Or The Prisoner of War*, pp. 58-59, describes the appearance of the prison:

> The military prison . . . at Point Lookout, consisted of two inclosures, the one containing about thirty, the other about ten acres of flat sand, on the northern shore of the Potomac . . . but a few inches above high tide, and utterly innocent of tree [or] shrub. . . .[6] Each was surrounded by a fence about fifteen feet high . . . around the top of which on the outer face, and about twelve feet from the ground, ran a platform, on which twenty or thirty sentinels were posted, keeping watch . . . night and day. . . . Besides these precautions, a strongly fortified palisade stretched across the tongue of land on which the prisons stood from the bay on the northeast to the Potomac on the southwest. . . . One face of each of these " pens," the eastern, fronted on the bay, and gates led from the inclosures to a narrow belt of land between the fence and the water, which was free to the prisoners during the day, piles being driven into the bay on either hand to prevent any dextrous " rebs " from flanking out. A certain portion of the water was marked off . . . for bathing

[2] *OR*, 2, VI, 132, 141.
[3] *OR*, 2, VIII, 991-1002.
[4] *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXXVIII, 295-297.
[5] *In Vinculis*. Charles T. Loehr, " Point Lookout," *SHSP*, XVIII, 113-120; William W. Pierson, Jr., Ed., " The Diary of Bartlett Yancey Malone," *The James Sprunt Historical Publications* (Chapel Hill, 1919), XVI, No. 2, 5-59; J. B. Traywick, " Prison Life at Point Lookout," *SHSP*, XVIII, 431-435; and James T. Wells, " Prison Experience," *ibid.*, VII, 324-329, 393-398, 487-491.
[6] Edwin T. Beitzell, *Chronicles of St. Mary's*, II, No. 4, 18, " Point Lookout, Maryland," gives 23 acres as the size of the larger " pen." Beitzell's series of articles in Nos. 3, 4 and 5 of the *Chronicles* is the only exhaustive study.

purposes, and most of the prisoners gladly availed themselves of the privilege . . . although, as the same locality . . . was devoted to the reception of all the filth of the camp, I admit a squeamishness which deprived me of sea-bathing as long as I stayed there.

Another account by James T. Wells, Second Carolina Infantry, describes the barter and trade which were carried on along the narrow strip between fence and water:

. . . Greenbacks and Confederate money were both legal, and passed at the regular rates of exchange. . . . Various kinds of currency were in circulation, the principal of which was "hard tack" and tobacco. With a hard tack you could purchase a chew of tobacco, or *vice versa*. . . . Whenever any one wanted a chew of tobacco, he could cry out, "Here's your hard tack for your tobacco." Immediately someone would answer, "Here's your tobacco," and this would apply to anything which might be wanted. . . .[7]

Wells also states:

There were many portrait and landscape painters, and many fine pictures were produced there. One, "The Prisoner's Dream of Home," was greatly admired and coveted by many, but money could not purchase it from the owner.

It is interesting to note that one of Omenhausser's watercolors is titled "The Rebel's Dream in Prison." It depicts a handsome and abviously well-fed gentleman in immaculate *civilian* attire. He is all but surrounded by two lovely belles, one of whom nestles close to him as she languidly strums a mandolin. Doubtless the subject—with infinite variations in treatment—was a favorite one in Confederate and Federal prisons alike.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

[7] *SHSP*, VII, 489.

SIDELIGHTS

A JOURNEY FROM FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA, TO NEW YORK.

The following journal was kept by Robert Lewis, nephew of George Washington and employed by him as copyist and later as private secretary. It describes Martha Washington's trip to the president's first inauguration. Lewis appears to be the chief escort and major domo of the journey. Many now historic places are noted and several prominent Virginians and Marylanders are mentioned or characterized by Lewis. Unfortunately his journal comes to an abrupt end, and no other pages have ever been found among the Robert Lewis Papers. Yet the document, however fragmentary, is significant, for it affords a brief peek backwards into early American society.

"A Journey" was contributed by Mrs. Francis F. Beirne and edited by Richard Walsh. It is part of the manuscript collection of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union, Mount Vernon, Virginia.

On Wednesday the 13th of May 1789 I left F—g. accompanied by Mr Francis Thornton Junr we arrived at Dumfries after I had experienced the most disagreeable sensations imaginable — with the reflections of parting with an Aged Mother and Grandmother, — besides other numerous relatives and acquaintances, who all appeared equally affected at our separation: — when our hands touched, perhaps, for the last time and our tongues refused to perform their office in bidding farewell. Heaven I am assured, witnessed and approved the purity and ardour of our affections. —

The sprightly conversation—and mutual condolence of my friend Th—n [Thornton] served in a great measure to alleviate the pangs which tore my breast. — Our arrival at Dumfries was between 12 & 1 o clock — every house, stable, &c. was almost occupied by the number of persons that had come to the district Court — We regaled ourselves and Horses, then repaired to the Court House in serce [*sic.*] of B— W—,[1] whom we were told was there, — The vestibule of which was so crowded, that there was no possibility of getting in speech of him — we therefore concluded to proceed on as far Colo Blackbourns [2] — where, we were informed he would certainly be in the course of the Evening.

On our way thither we were agreeably surprised to meet with Mrs B— W— who had left home with the intention of carrying her fugitive husband back with her; — as he had been absent some days — owing to the

[1] Washington Bushrod, 1762-1829, associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

[2] Col. Thomas Blackburn of Prince William County, father-in-law of Bushrod Washington.

multiplicity of business which required his attention. She prevailed on us to proceed — and entertain some ladies that she had left behind: — untill her arrival. — We remained here until late the next morning — and were highly diverted with our company, we had music, vocal & instrumental. The hour being arrived for us to depart, kissed all the girls — which example was soon followed by my friend Thornton with great seeming diffidence.

May 14th. We departed from Col° B— in company with M^rs^ Blackbourn — M^rs^ W—n and M^r^ B. W— for M. V. [Mt. Vernon] nothing remarkable happened until we came there at which place on our arrival, — every thing appeared to be in confusion, — packing, — and making all the necessary preparations for the intended peregrination to N. Y. —

May 15th. Remained here all this day — and the following untill the evening — in which time — Thornton and myself diverted ourselves in walking, & viewing all the curiosities — that was to be seen — and thought ourselves fully compensated for the fatigue. — After taking an early dinner and making all the necessary arrangements in which we were greatly retard^d^ — it brough us to three o clock in the evening — when we left M. V. — The servants of the House, and a number of the field negros made there [*sic.*] appearance — to take leave of their mistress — numbers of these poor wretches seemed greatly agitated, — My Aunt equally so.

May 16th. We travelled together as far as Alexandria — and left My Aunt at her request to proceed to Doct^r^ Stuarts.[3] Thornton and myself put in at M^r^ B— W—s. and spent that night and the greater part of the next day with them untill the evening. Cousin George had in this time come from M— V—. We left my Friend Thornton with much regret — arrived at Doct^r^ Stuarts late in the evening — where all was silent melancholy — and every one anticipated the effects of parting. —

May 18th. The Horses were hitched by 5 Oclock in the morning — Baggage put on, and everything in readiness to decamp — when alas! the dreaded hour appeared. — So pathetic and affecting a scene — I never wish to be again witness to. — We at length got off, by which I was greatly releived, — leaving the family in tears — the children a bawling — and every thing in a most lamantable [*sic.*] situation. — We arrived at the ferry opposite Geo. Town about 9 Oclock without any thing material happening: — the Horses were taken out, and left this side — as we were to get a fresh set from Col° Van Horn[4] to take us on the other: — we embarked in company with Stuart, his Brother Maj^r^ Washington and M^r^ B— Bassett and got to G— Town with some difficulty — the river being very full, and a pretty strong current which drove us down a considerable distance and alarmed my Aunt not a little. — Col° Van H.s horses were then fixed to the coach, but my aunt preferred walking up to the tavern — and to let the carriage go around — which happened very

[3] David Stuart married Eleanor Calvert Custis, widow of John Parke Custis and daughter of Benedict Calvert of Mt. Airy.

[4] Col. Gabriel P. Van Horne, operator of a stage coach line.

luckily — the horses not being used to Breast plates which galled them; refused to take the draught at the Hill — and *so* baulked, they were lashed pretty roundly for their obstinacy — by which means — with their jumping and exertions broke one of the swingle trees — and the hook at the pole end of the carᵍ — Colᵒ V. H. then had to sent in the country for other horses — mean while the repairs to the carriage was doing: — which detained us two hours: — under all these misfortunes — we again made a second attempt and succeeded; persued our road to Bladensburg and got there at one oclock — took a cold cut with some wine to stay our appetites until we should get to Majʳ Snowdens [5] where we proposed to Quarter than night. — The C—ty about this little village is very pretty and under good cultivation. I was delighted with their meadows orchards &c. I likewise called on a Mʳ Cambell of this place with my written instructions to endeavor to purchase a horse which my Uncle had taken a fancy to being a match for his riding horse. — Mʳ Cambell was from home — at Baltimore 'twas said, where I flattered myself I should see him. — After refreshing ourselves & horses, we parted with our escorts —(the Gentlemen before mentioned) our company now consisting of Mʳˢ W— the children, Colᵒ V. H. and self, we again set out for Majʳ Snowdens — where we arrived at 4 Oclock in the Evening — the roads were extremely narrow — muddy and bad — the carriage got hung between two trees — which were scarcely wide enough to admit it. — We were treated with great hospitallity and civility by the Majʳ and his wife, who were very plain honest kind of folks and made every effort to make our stay as agreeable as possible.

I found myself a good deal indisposed with a head ache & thought a fever owing to a lollish young colt which I had to ride — but was releived by the purchase of a horse from Mʳ Campbell, who came to Mʳ Snowdens shortly after us — requested that I might go to bed which was readily granted — haply.

May 19ᵗʰ 1789. The morning was lowering and looked like rain — we were intreated to stay all day but to no effect — we had made our arrangements and it was impossible so therefore took leave of our kind hostess — who insisted that we should always make that a stop whenever we travelled that road. — Mʳ Snowden accompanied us ten or a dozen miles to shew a near way and the best road — In conversation I discovered him to be a man of no inconsiderable possessions having got a large fortune by his wife, who was an heiress to an immense estate and married him merely for love he being a very handsome Man, of obscure parentage and no property. — Mʳˢ Snowden is of the middle statue, is between 25 or 30 years of age remarkably loquacious but sensible — she's very homely herself; but has several of the handsomest children I ever beheld. — The majʳ is nearly 6 feet high and proportionably bulky — his physiognomy is preposesing [*sic.*] — but the nonsense and egotism which he lavishes in his own favour can not be borne with — he's likewise talkative (the

[5] Major Thomas Snowden, 1750-1803, of Montpelier.

qualification seems to be hereditary as it has descended from the parents to the children — who are also as vociferous — and have as great volubility of tongue as parots [*sic.*]. — We proceeded as far as Spurriors ordinary [on Route U. S. # 1, near Laurel] — and there refreshed ourselves and horses — parted with our kind conductor, previous to which I discovered him to be a complete horse Jockey. — Mrs Washington shifted herself here, expecting to be met by numbers of Gentlemen out of B—re — in which time we had every thing in readiness, the carrige, Horses, &c, at the door in waiting. — Our journey commenc'd again, — the treatment I had met with the preceding night afforded me matter for contemplation at least four miles — when I was interrupted by Colo V. H. who had in this time been before me some distance — we had ascended an eminence, and nearly reached the summit before I was disturbed in my cogitations — by an exclamation or shout from the Colo desireing me to observe the most beautiful prospect I had ever seen: — fond of seeing anything remarkable or curious — I quickened my pace and soon came up with him; — when to my utmost astonishment (after having travelled through a barren uncultivated soil) I beheld one of the most beautiful and yet limitted landscapes I had ever seen in my life. — The bottom of this Hill is washed by the Patuxent [Patapsco] River, which forms an angle or elbow. In the eastern corner is situated a little village called Elkridge, which is irregular but the Houses small and neat and yet well built. This River takes its source near Fredk Town and runs a pretty direct course untill it comes to this place, from whence it meanders in an East direction untill it disembogues itself into the Chesapeak. — The farms which are situated on each side of this River are under the highest cultivation, interspersed with orchards — meadows &c. which form the most beautiful landscape that can be imagined — this prospect is bounded all round with large Hills or Mountains which intercepts a more extensive view. — We coasted it along down this River through the plantations before mentioned —(you are admitted into these places by large gates which are kept up at the expence of the state of Maryland — and are very common throughout the whole state) — untill we arrived at the Ferry which is not more than 40 yards wide — but very deep — we observed a number of small craft going up to Elkridge, there being a stiff breeze and the tide in their favr we supposed them to run at the rate of 10 nots an hour: we put the coach on board the boat — leaving the Horses & servants behind and embarked — the wind by this time had risen almost to a storm — the waves running very high, the boat took in a great deal of water which frightened my Aunt a good deal, — however, by the exertions of our ferrymen, with the assistance of Colo V. H. and myself we reached the opposite shore where we were met by several Gentlemn from B—— who had come out for the purpose of escorting Mrs W— into town — the party consisted of Docr Mc H.—[6] Capt B—, Colo B.— and one or two other Gentn whose names I do not

[6] Dr. James McHenry, 1753-1816, aide to Gen. Washington, later Secretary of War.

recollect, — the servants, Horses, Baggage &c. was soon over when, we formed ourselves in line of march and Moved slowly on until we arrived at Mrs Carrols [7] where we had been invited by a messenger who met us on the road for that purpose — Observing the house to be much crowded the Gentlemen proposed we should go into town and return in the evening to accompany Mrs W— to Docr Mc H— as she had promised to take tea and spend the evening with Mrs Mc H.—, Mrs Carrol expecting Mrs W— had made considerable preparation, — we found a large bowl of salubrious ice punch with fruits &c. which had been plucked from the trees in a green House, lying on the tables in great abundance; — these after riding 25 or 30 miles without eating or drinking was no unwelcome luxury, however, Mrs C— could not complain that we had not done her punch honor, for in the course of 1 Quarter of an hour (the time we tarried) this bowl which held upwards of two Gallons was entirely consumed to the no little satisfaction of us all. —

We then made our congee and departed, — the Gentlemen to their respective homes, — myself with Docr Mc H— who invited me very politely to take a family dinner with him, — Mrs Mc H was at dinner when we arrived, — the fare was homely and yet agreeable; — enlivened by the conversation of Mrs Mc H who was handsome and sensible withal, — The Doctr made so many appologies for the scantiness of the dinner that it was quite tiresome and disagreeable, — and I as many times requested that he would say nothing about it; — for it was what I admired, — and complimented Mrs Mc H—y on her economy, — on her telling me, that it was a rule with her whenever they were without company never to have more than 3 dishes at table, the one of meat, and the residue in vegitables. — The Doctr kept me so long at table after dinner that I had not time to clean myself, it being near 5 o clock; — I took my leave repaired to Grants tavern [8] and found that Colo V. H— had left that an hour or two with the carriage to bring the ladies to town. I then made all the expedition I was master of to be in readiness to receive the Ladies, — & happly accomplished it by a few minutes only; — for I had scarcely got to the Doctrs again before the carriages (Mrs W— and Mrs C—,) drove up to the door, — when Mrs W—n immediately retired into a private room to dress. Colo B—d proposed to walk with me and show the town, — in the first place; — I recollected that Mr Sydnor lived here, and immediately made enquiry whereabouts, — as we had once been very entimate, — I was glad of an opportunity to show that I had not lost sight of our former acquaintance; — he received me in a very friendly and cordial manner, and as usual, made the natural interrogations with respect to the people of Frederickg, first inqg after his acquaintances: — I spent an half hour with him, then accompanied by Colo Ballard returned to the Doctr where a number of Ladies had assembled to pay their respects to Mrs Washington, the names of which are too numerous to insert, let

[7] Mrs. Charles Carroll, nee Margaretta Tilghman, of Mount Clare.
[8] Grant' Tavern—Fountain Inn.

it suffice, that they were the handsomest assortment of women that I had even seen. — I attached myself entirely to a Miss Spear who was remarkably talkative and seemed to be pretty well acquainted with my friend Rob[t] Mercer, which afforded considerable fund of conversation: — The evening concluded with an elegant entertainment and fire works, which were judiciously managed by a Brother of Doct[r] M[c] H. The company did not retire untill after eleven o clock, — I saw Miss Spear home who appeared to be much pleased with my attentions, — and insisted that I would never go through Baltimore without calling on her, — she intreated me to come in, but it being late; and a young gentleman in company with me, I though it prudent to return with him — otherwise I might have lost myself — Miss Spear, was extremely pressing — but as I felt better disposed for sleep than any other kind of amusement —so made my bow & departed; not without first promising that, if it rained the next day (which looked a good deal like it) that I would spend the day with her. — I then made hast back to the Doc[rs] expecting to be locked out — but was mistaken, for I found the Doct[r] seated at Table with some of the Gentlemen drinking wine; — I was requested to take a chair and join them, — but excused myself by saying it was late, — and that I should have to rise early in the morning. — so beged that I might be indulged to go to bed, — this broke up the company — and I was conducted to a room neatly furnished, — sleep was foreign from eyes. — The hurry and bustle that I had been in all day and the variety which I had seen, gave sufficient scope to my immagination — to sleep was imposible, these agreeable reflections was interrupted: — for we were serenaded untill two oclock in the morning — when I fell a sleep — and was waked by the clock striking five which was the hour we proposed leaving town to avoid any perade that might be intended. — May 20[th] 1789 —

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia by WALCOMB E. WASHBURN. [Williamsburg, Institute of Early American History and Culture.] (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1957, 279).

Colonial governors can expect little from history. In this respect Sir William Berkeley was particularly unfortunate. It is true that he preceded the War of the Revolution by a century and avoided the fate of Lord Dunmore; but a series of circumstances conspired to portray him to a democratic posterity as oppressive and tyrannical. First, he returned to Virginia after the Restoration as the "Darling of the People," but the people had been infected meanwhile with the virus of Cromwellian independence. Second, he is remembered for saying, "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing . . ."; and neither he nor Virginia has lived this down. And, third, in the year 1676, one Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., started a rebellion, which was later identified as a democratic stirring, and a precursor of the great War for Independence.

In *The Governor and the Rebel*, Professor Washburn has attempted to show that Bacon's Rebellion was not inspired by the desire for democratic reforms, and that Berkeley was not an oppressive governor. The first he has done conclusively; and, because he has detracted so enormously from Bacon's reputation, he has added appreciably to Berkeley's.

After investigating all the hitherto known sources on the subject, Professor Washburn discovered at Longleat, the estate of the Marquis of Bath, the papers of Henry Coventry, Secrtary of State for the colonies from 1674 to 1680. These records contributed evidence in favor of his theory; and his reinterpretation of the whole body of facts makes Bacon out to be something other than the "Torchbearer of the Revolution." The cause of the rebellion was not the desire for political reform, but one of the great, hard, unseemly facts of American history—the aggressive frontiersman's conflict with the Indian. Berkeley held an enlightened policy in Indian affairs: he sought to protect the friendly, subject tribes—the Pamunkey, the Appomattox, and the Chickahominy—who held their land as a grant from the colony; and at the same time to protect the westernmost colonists from the warlike tribes. An unfortunate skirmish between a party of Virginians and a party of Doegs from Maryland ignited the ever-smoldering Indian wars. The tinder was unusually dry because of the winds blowing from New England, where King Philip's

war had broken out. Bacon exploited the greed and fear of the frontiersmen by tormenting the friendly Indians into being unfriendly and by making Berkeley's policy appear unfavorable to the colonists. In June 1676 he successfully beseiged the Assembly sitting at Jamestown.

Now it was the political reforms of this June Assembly that gave Bacon his reputation. Although many of these acts can be construed as real reforms, for example, the one enabling all freemen, not just property holders, to vote for the burgesses, Professor Washburn has shown that Bacon had no real interest in them; he was merely using the Indian troubles to get a commission for himself and, if possible, control of the colony. What Professor Washburn does not mention, however, is that although Bacon had no interest in political reform, the Governor, the council, and the burgesses might have been influenced by the threat of Bacon into enacting some of the laws of 1676.

The rebellion was of short duration; Bacon died rather suddenly on October 26, 1676. However, it was not without dramatic incidents. In the shifting of the populace from Berkeley to Bacon and back, Berkeley lost, gained, and lost again the capital. While beseiging the city, Bacon captured the wives of the loyalist leaders, Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., (his cousin), James Bray, Thomas Ballard, and John Page, and placed them on the ramparts while he dug his fortifications. He captured the city on September 19; and on the same date the ancient spectacle of terror in war, a city burning in the night, appeared on the James.

After Bacon's death Berkeley, who had retreated to Accomack, soon regained control. However, by this time the King was alarmed by the reports he was receiving from Virginia, and he sent out a royal commission to investigate. The commissioners, eager to justify their mission, collected the grievances of the people. Of these there were many, particularly from those who had sympathized with Bacon, but what is astonishing about the grievances presented to the commissioners is that there are almost no charges of graft, corruption, favoritism, or misgovernment against Governor Berkeley or even against those closely associated with him.

Colonel Jeffreys, one of the commissioners, proclaimed himself Governor on April 27, 1677, and Berkeley returned to England in June. Before he could see his King, he died; and his death was attributed by some to heartbreak over a remark allegedly made by Charles II: "That old fool [Berkeley] has hanged more men in that naked country, than I did for the murder of my father."

The Governor and the Rebel is distinguished by three characteristics: (1) it is thoroughly and soundly documented; (2) it adheres closely to a single thesis; and (3) it attempts to redress the balance in a prejudice of long standing, that against all loyalists. In fact, it offers a new insight into colonial history:

It was not in Bacon's Rebellion that resistance to autocratic government was born, but in the post-rebellion fight of the loyalists against the arbitrary injustice of the King's commissioners and governors. The upholders of

Virginia's political liberties fought for those rights against Bacon, against Jeffreys, against Culpeper, against Effingham, and against succeeding governors.

However, one should not expect to find in the book much related detail, or social and economic history of the period. Even much of the material relating to the Rebellion is given scant treatment, presumably because it is erroneous or because it contributes little to the author's thesis. A truly definitive study might include the local legends, the color and tang of the day by day events in their homely setting. This lack should not obscure the fact that *The Governor and the Rebel* is an excellent book, all the more so, perhaps, because the author has not strayed from his main theme. Austerity, in this instance, has added brilliance.

JOHN WALTON

The Johns Hopkins University

Slavery in Tennessee. By CHARLES MOONEY. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957. xii, 250, $4.50.)

There is still a great need for detailed studies of the Negro in the ante-bellum South before our knowledge of slavery will be complete. Making use of the unpublished census reports of 1850 and 1860, Mr. Mooney throws some new light on the relationship between slavery and agriculture in Tennessee.

The first part of the book consists of a broad description of slavery in the Volunteer State. The initial chapter competently summarizes the legal status of the Negro, but the succeeding chapter fails to establish a satisfactory discussion of the hiring, selling, and running away of slaves. More information should be available concerning the extent of the practice of hiring Negroes and the uses made of them. For example, were such laborers particularly important in industry (such as the iron industry) and in the construction of roads, canals, and railroads? In other Southern states hired slaves underwent greater hardships than did the Negroes who remained on their masters' farms. Was this also true in Tennessee? Concerning runaway Negroes, additional research might explain the reasons for running away, the dangers and difficulty of flight, and the punishments for fleeing. The fourth chapter also falls short of presenting a full treatment of slave life. Much more information can probably be found concerning the clothing, feeding, disciplining, and use of slaves in Tennessee. Of fifty footnotes for the chapter only nine indicate the investigation of manuscript sources. Moreover, in this chapter the author appears to be more anxious to defend slavery in Tennessee than to give a comprehensive and objective study of it.

The statistical relationship between landholding and slavery is investigated very thoroughly in the latter half of this book. By using the unpub-

lished census returns of 1850 and 1860, the author shows that, at least numerically, the small landowners (slave-owning and non-slave owning) were dominant in Tennessee. This is the most important contribution that the monograph makes. Was the planter group as insignificant as the author suggests, however? In the last chapter several Tennessee planters are discussed, but almost nothing is said about their social and political influence. As a result, we learn little of the planters' impact on local, state, and national politics. Until we know more about the preceding, we will not have a complete understanding of the relationship between agriculture and slavery in the Volunteer State.

S. Sydney Bradford

Fort McHenry National Monument
National Park Service

Arms and Armor in Colonial America 1526-1783. By Harold L. Peterson. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Stackpole Company. 350, 318 plates, $12.50).

For twenty years archeologists, historians, and some museum men have talked about procedures that might elevate historic objects to recognized, dignified status as sources of history. In the eyes of this reviewer Mr. Peterson's book is the best evidence so far presented that the many conferences, debates, and published admonitions regarding the endeavor have born fruit. This encyclopedic work establishes in its particular realm the datum and guide upon which field investigators, writers, educators, museum curators, and antiquarians may interpolate their own studies and plans. At the same time, it gives to the average reader refreshing insights into Colonial history and affords a delightful source of recreation and hobby-reading of top grade. It is, in fact, a unique volume of worth to professional and layman alike.

As the title suggests, guns, edged weapons, and the protectice devices worn by warriors are involved in the study. It places the 250-year history of Colonial firearms (other than cannon) in clear perspective and it gives definition to the mechanical aspects of the arms themselves. There are eleven pen-and-ink diagrams of gunlock mechanisms, for example, which will be appreciated by collectors and seized upon by those who dig rusted gun fragments from the soil. Here are the handiest descriptions of criteria organized for period and all spelled out. Also, the historian-archeologist will be delighted with the photographs of specimens excavated at famous sites of known period. Of these photographs twelve represent gun parts, six show edged weapons, and eight show armor.

A notable number (fortynine) of the illustrations represent arms owned by the author. Among the 318 plates a nice distribution has been made between drawings and photographs. Generally, reproduction of the pictures (all black-and-white) is superlative. There are seventeen well-chosen etchings or wood-cuts from ancient sources and eleven pen-and-ink draw-

ings of historic military personnel supplied by the Company of Military Collectors and Historians. These are highly successful in bringing to life the stories of certain French, Spanish, English, and American units of the 17th and 18th centuries. I doubt that an artist in pen-and-ink can express more action and realism than has Harry C. Larter, Jr., in his drawing of the wind-blown French fusiliers in 17th Century Canada. (p. 47).

Maryland troops and Maryland muskets, rifles, hand mortars, "granadoes," and bayonets (among the first in America—1694) find place in Mr. Peterson's pictures and accounts. Even the little-known Maryland punch-mark is illustrated. *Narratives of Early Maryland, Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, Journal and Correspondence of the Council*, and *Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland* are among the sources used.

The bibliography as a whole is impressive and useful. It is rich in little-known but highly important items of early date. Footnotes appear at the chapter ends and are about as practical as can be devised. The large format and high grade of paper make for presentation of large, clear illustrations and attractive composition. All told, the book represents a superior job of manufacturing and a prize-winning accomplishment by the author. It is such a reference work as will win plaudits for all time to come—and, I dare say, it helps to light the way in according to historic objects a proper place among the sources of history.

CARL P. RUSSELL

Britons in American Labor: A History of the Influence of the United Kingdom Immigrants on American Labor, 1820-1914. By CLIFTON K. YEARLEY, JR. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXV, Number 1.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1957, 332, $4.00.)

With the figure of Samuel Gompers as a towering reminder, the fact of British influence in the American labor movement has not escaped close students of American history, and may even have registered with those no closer than the back rows of college survey courses. But to sum it all up in a catch phrase—"Gompers, British influence; British influence, Gompers"—is to fall well short of the whole truth. Now that social and economic history have come into their own, now that world events have outmoded the blinders of national history, it is time for the whole truth to be told. And it is fitting that the closest approximation to the whole truth we are ever likely to have should come from the Johns Hopkins Studies, which began in 1883 with a resounding affirmation of our debt to the political institutions of the Old World.

Britons in American Labor is a thoughtful and impressively thorough study of a major influence in American labor during a crucial century. Dr. Yearley points out scrupulously at the start, in a penetrating sketch

of the general setting, that British influence did not create the American labor movement, nor did it alone set the movement's course; and his warning is warranted, for with its profusion of instances, the book might otherwise unintentionally persuade the reader that British influence was everything. As it stands, the book shows that influence to have been pervasive and enduring, the result not of one man's chance bias but of a manifold and long-continuing process.

Antebellum British immigrants, many of them graduates of Chartism, began the process as propagandists, agitators, organizers and leaders. Events—and men's ideas of events—during the Civil War laid a "basis for understanding" and mutual regard between American and British labor. In the next generation or two came many efforts, unsuccessful but not unrewarding, to achieve direct transatlantic affiliation, notably among seamen and dock workers. Meanwhile, and more lastingly important, British immigrants carried on the pre-war tradition with still greater scope and effectiveness, fortified by the hard-learned lessons of British unionism. A parade of colorful and vigorous leaders passes by —Richard Trevellick, Thomas Morgan, John Hinchcliffe, Alexander MacDonald, John Siney and many others. They are not double-timed; we have a good look at each one, and we come away with a strong impression of idealism staunch enough to survive cruel years of child labor in British factories, of steadiness and tenacity under the buffetings of fortune, and of a stubborn British aversion to violence and extremism. Some of these remarkable men were absorbed in the organization and leadership of trade unions—miners, metalworkers, textile workers and others. Some, like John Samuel and Thomas Phillips, went on also to crusade for co-operative systems of production and distribution, thereby influencing the Grangers as well as labor. All of them were aided by the "great example" of the continuing British labor movement, reinforced by a stream of visitors to and from England and by the labor press of both countries.

As British immigration slackened, as economic conditions in the two nations diverged, and as American labor grew up and learned to stand on its own feet, British influence waned. By the start of the new century, it had become relatively negligible. Nevertheless its legacy was permanent, a legacy of moderation, of peaceable striving for concrete gains, of "common sense" unionism, of democratic action. British influence explains much of what American unionism is today.

In unearthing this complex story, Dr. Yearley has left no tome unturned. Government documents, newspapers, periodicals, manuscript collections, and a rich variety of secondary sources have evidently been ransacked. To be sure, Peter Arthur was not "the founder" of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (p. 86), but this fact does not affect the particular point involved, and in any case such slips are well below the normal incidence of human error. If one must register a complaint (and perhaps one must, if only to keep up the franchise), it is that the quantity of detail occasionally becomes overwhelming. There are passages in which one or two quotes might have served as well as half a dozen for illustration. But

since the study is meant to inform rather than amuse, the error is on the safe side. And anyway, the fluency and precision of Dr. Yearley's style rescues his book from the pitfall of pedantry.

All in all, *Britons in American Labor* stands as a study long needed and now carried through with ability and finality.

ROBERT V. BRUCE

Boston University

The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, Volume V, 1867-1870. Edited by MARY C. SIMMS OLIPHANT. (Columbus: University of South Carolina Press, 1956. xxiii, 571, $8.50).

The publication of the fifth volume of the letters of William Gilmore Simms successfully completes the record of a vigorous and voluminous correspondence which extended through forty years. The appearance of each volume has fully justified the prediction which greeted the first, that in the future these letters would be indispenseable to historians of the literary and cultural history of the South. The final volume spans the years from 1867 until Simms' death in 1870, and includes letters which the editors have discovered since the first volume appeared. Mr. Eaves has prepared an excellent index to all five volumes as well as a comprehensive index of Simms' works.

For Marylanders these letters are particularly interesting for the light they shed on Simms' relations with the Baltimore novelist and statesman, John Pendleton Kennedy. Simms' friendship with Kennedy is often pointed to as evidence of Kennedy's close ties with the South, ties he severed with the coming of the Civil War. Yet these letters reveal how far Kennedy was removed from the extreme southern partisanship of Simms. The letters suggest a formal and rather fitful acquaintanceship that merely ceased with the coming of the war.

The two men were temperamentally unsuited for intimate friendship. Kennedy was more congenial with men like Thackeray and Irving, for among them a good deal of raillery eased the tension which might strain the relationships between gifted men. Simms, on the other hand, resembled Cooper in his positive manner and his readiness to suspect an affront. His open and hearty manner was checked by Kennedy's habitual reserve.

At the close of hostilities, Kennedy traveled south and Simms, true to the finest tradition of the code he had followed to its defeat, greeted him gallantly and cordially. And Simms' last letter to Kennedy was a request for a photograph and suggests that any estrangement owing to the war was forgotten: "I am making a collection of my friends' heads—i. e. where they have anything in them—for an album, which I design to keep for my children; taking for granted that they will learn to estimate & study the aspects of those whom I have known equally head and heart."

CHARLES H. BOHNER

University of Delaware

The Witness of William Penn, edited with an introduction by FREDERICK B. TOLLES and E. GORDON ALDERFER. (New York: Macmillan, 1957. xxx, 205, $3. 75).

Had William Penn been the founder only of Pennsylvania, the present volume might have a different title. He was also a principal founder of the American branch of the Society of Friends and one of the chief organizers among Quakers abroad. *The Witness of William Penn* thus becomes appropriate to describe this anthology of carefully selected passages from a dozen of the ninety or a hundred tracts and pamphlets written by William Penn. The editors have taken considerable trouble to clarify and elucidate the text and the meaning of their selections; they have also prepared introductory and explanatory passages to reset Penn's words in the contemporary political scene and to present them in relation to the events of his life. The result is a fine distillation into one hundred and seventy-five pages, more or less, from writings previously edited in from two to five volumes. Prepared for the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of Penn's arrival in Pennsylvania, this book provides for today's reader an adequate fund of testimony about a man whose work was finished so long before the days of 1776 that it is easy to forget that he was in certain respects the supreme model of a Founding Father.

This service to our own generation of readers is especially useful because Penn's writings are not readily accessible in the kind of definitive edition we have gotten into the habit of looking for when we want something from the works of the foremost names in American history. What Messrs. Tolles and Alderfer have done is but a short step in the direction of such a definitive treatment of the vast bulk of Penn's writings, but it has been done in a manner which will lead some readers to go in search of connecting passages and complete texts. Some of Penn's writings have been widely known, others are virtually unavailable even in good libraries; no exhaustive edition has appeared since 1825. Penn has been known generally more by what others have had to say about him and his writings, less by what he had to say himself.

For two reasons it is important to have direct access to Penn's own writings, even such limited access as in this book. First, the years in which he lived were filled with controversial issues touching politics and religion, the two areas in which he was most active and also the two areas most susceptible to error and misinterpretation in the hands of historians, critics and commentators. Penn's symbolic position in American history, typified by the statue on Philadelphia's City Hall tower and the idealized painting of the Treaty of Shackamaxon, inspires in many a didactic and uncritical patriotic admiration. His exalted place in the history of the Society of Friends makes him seem, for a few, just a little lower than the angels. These extremes tend to remove from reality our grasp of a man who knew at first hand more different phases of the troubled times in which he lived than did most of his contemporaries, one who did not hesitate to pour out what he observed, what he felt and thought about all manner of things.

The second reason that we should be grateful for even a small serving of Penn's own writings in a well-appointed, modern volume is that he was an eloquent and imaginative writer who frequently expressed himself with force and clarity about his convictions and his observations. The quantity of his literary output and the conditions under which he was often forced to write would have made it difficult for anyone with less genius to rise above the level of mediocre journalist. While passages dealing with matters of faith are occasionally cloudy rather than mystic, William Penn knew how to use the ponderous prose style of a great age of English writing. He did not force himself into such literary company as Milton and Dryden, but in his soul-searching, in his reports on his trials, on the natives of Pennsylvania and on how to establish government among men or among nations, it is evident that he used a language removed by less than a century from "the spacious days of great Elizabeth," close in time and in spirit to the power and strength of the King James version of the scriptures.

FRANK N. JONES

Peabody Institute

The Richardsons of Delaware, with a Brief History of the Richardson Park Suburban Area, by C. A. WESLAGER. Illustrated by Walter Stewart. (Wilmington, Delaware: Knebels Press, 1957. 195, $5.00).

This is a very good book by the well known author of studies in Delaware history and archaeology, and fully measures up to the high standard he has already long since set. The illustrations, mostly pictures of old houses and vanished or vanishing scenes, are excellent. One misses, without much regret, the photographs of relatives and ancestors of the family which one usually meets with in a genealogy, with their often forbidding, or else pathetic, countenances. On the other hand, many interesting things are related about these Richardsons, more especially in the chapter devoted to Hannah Richardson, the botanist. We are given the background of the land on which the Richardsons lived and died, from its beginnings as patented tracts to the present. To quote the author: "The last remnant of Richardson property was sold in 1926." The family settled in that immediate neighborhood in 1687. One is reminded of the Merryman family of Baltimore County, which took up "Merryman's Lot" in 1688 (now in Baltimore City). In or about 1930 a Merryman sold the "last remnant" to a company which erected thereon No. 101 University Parkway. In explaining his motive for writing this work Mr. Weslager says: "In recent years, Wilmington's Suburban communities have grown by leaps and bounds, and the author feels that too little attention has been given to their rich historical backgrounds." This must be only too true, not only of Wilmington, but of all the other Eastern American cities, whose suburbs are growing "by leaps and bounds" at the expense of the lovely and historical countryside.

WILLIAM B. MARYE

Bibliography of Pennsylvania History. Second edition of *Writings on Pennsylvania History, a Bibliography.* Edited by S. K. STEVENS and DONALD H. KENT. Wilkinson, Norman B., compiler. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1957. xxx, 826, $7).

Few states of the Union have anything approaching thorough and comprehensive bibliographical guides to all that has been written about them. Matherial about Pennsylvania has been accumulating for two and three-quarter centuries. Fifty years ago, an effort was launched to secure systematic bibliographical coverage of the field. Roughly contemporaneous with the establishment of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania History Club engaged the attention of some of the best men in the field and set out to provide a bibliographical record of the state, but its publication program ended with volume one, 1909, containing a list of members and a declaration of good intentions.

The present volume is a comprehensive, classified list of more than nine thousand books, articles and guides. Its aim is to include all secondary materials through 1952. The list occupies 709 pages and is followed by a general index to authors, subjects and places, filling 115 two-column pages. A few "see" and "see also" references supplement the index entries, and one or two cross-references ar scattered through the classified list. For the most part, one is dependent upon the classification, which is fully outlined in the contents. Barring the general charge that no subject breakdown of a broad subject is ever completely satisfactory to all persons, the scheme adopted probably serves its purpose as well as any other that might have been devised for this amount of material.

The scheme and general arrangement of the book have not been hastily thrown together without careful study. The *Bibliography of Pennsylvania History* is, in fact, the second edition of *Writings on Pennsylvania History*, 1946, which listed more than sixty-one hundred items published before the close of 1942. Dr. Norman B. Wilkinson who compiled the new *Bibliography* was one of the group that assisted Dr. Aruthr C. Bining in the compilation of the *Writings*. The plan and scope of the new work are somewhat expanded but basically identical with the older volume. Minor changes have been made in the headings used to break down the four general sections into which the list is divided and to sub-divide them according to historical periods. The three thousand added entries in the *Bibliography* are largely works dating within the period from 1943 through 1952; some older items not included in the first list are also to be found but the editors have not marked them specifically. "Pennsylvania in World War II" is about the only unit in the list that could be considered entirely new.

Much of the material cited is in files of local historical society bulletins of which Pennsylvania has a goodly number; the list would be worth a great deal even if it were limited to this one source since many such publications are not consistently represented in other bibliographical guides.

A page and one-half are devoted to analyzing the Pennsylvania Archives. To this reviewer, it seems a pity that no effort was made to include state, county and city atlases of which Pennsylvania has quite an array. Possibly these are not looked upon by the editors as secondary materials within their definition. Many issued during the latter half of the nineteenth century contain useful if ephemeral material of great variety beyond that which is strictly geographical and cartographical. Mrs. LeGear's *United States Atlases*, Washington, 1950, lists one hundred and seventy-seven for Pennsylvania and its counties and cities.

The *Bibliography* is a better-printed and more attractive volume than the earlier *Writings*, but its binding may not survive extensive handling such as a book of this sort might get in an active reference collection. The use of varied type sizes and of bold face for sub-heads and for authors' names makes the pages of the *Bibliography* easy to scan. Serial numbers which key the index are likewise in bold face with each entry and assist the eye.

FRANK N. JONES

Peabody Institute

A Guide to the Manuscripts Collection of the New Jersey Historical Society. By FRED SHELLEY. [Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society, XI.] (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1957, unp., $2.50).

It is always a pleasure to welcome the publication of a finding aid to manuscript collections. Compiled by the Society's Librarian (Mr. Shelley previously served as the Librarian of the Maryland Historical Society between 1950 and 1955), this is the first comprehensive *Guide* to the collections although the Society has published descriptions previously. The collections, numbering in excess of 75,000 pieces except the archives of the Society and the Newark Library Association, are contained in 337 manuscript groups.

In brief, the *Guide* lists the name of each collection, its inclusive years, quantity, source and date of the acquisition, restrictions upon the use of the collection, whether or not published, and the availability of a detailed index. The New Jersey Historical Society is to be congratulated for making this pamphlet available. Its publication provides an invaluable aid both to the scholar and staff member alike. One can only comment that the descriptions of each collection are of necessity brief. Also, it would have been helpful to have listed the material alphabetically or by type. But these criticisms are not meant to detract from an important compilation.

The appearance of this pamphlet points out the need for a comparable volume which covers the manuscripts collection of the Maryland Historical Society. Much of the preliminary work has already been completed, but much yet remains to be done.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Richard Walsh succeeds Frank Haber as editor of the Magazine. After several years of devoted service to the *Magazine* and library, Dr. Haber accepted the position of assistant professor of social sciences at the University of Florida. Richard Walsh is assistant professor of history in the college and graduate school of Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., author of several articles on American colonial and revolutionary history. He is now preparing the writings of Christopher Gadsden for publication by the South Carolina Historical Society, and he is also historian–consultant for the restoration of Fort McHenry being conducted by the National Park Service.

From the original in The Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine. Transcribed by George H. S. King, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

May 11, 1644

Whereas it concernes the good of the Colony that every particular man's estate be preserved from ruine; and whereas the Lord Proprietor's brother Leon: Calvert Esq[r] late Governor of this place hath an estate in the colony now dispersed and unregarded by means of the death of his late attorney Peter Draper. These are to will and require you to make search and inquiry after all the debts goods and chattels of the state of the said Leonard and as neare as you shall be able to make a perfect inventory of them and in whose hands they be and the said inventory to bring to the Secretary to be recorded, and in case of any of them shall be found in unsecured hands or likely to perish to take the best and most convenient care you can for their preservation and safety. And for the better unabling of you to find out where any of the said estate shall be you are hereby further authorized to administer an oath to any party concerning the same for all which this shall be your warrant.

Giles Brent

To the Sheriff
Edward Parker

Plant–Stewart–Hay—Information is wanted on the parentage and issue of John Plant who served in the 1st Md. Regt. of the Revolution. He married Mary Ann Davis on June 15, 1788, in Charles County, Md.; had

a sister whose married name was Stewart; a daughter whose married name was Hay, and a son Nathaniel who was a resident of the District of Columbia, 1840-60.

MICHAEL L. PLANT,
11804 Valleywood Drive, Wheaton, Md.

Hewitt—Information is sought about the Bibles belonging to the Hewitt, Chiverall and Booth families of St. Mary's County, Maryland. Also names of parents of John Hewitt and Clarissa (Booth) Hewitt, married in St. Mary's County, Md., on January 19, 1811. Also parents of Ann Elizabeth (Chiveral) Hewitt born September 10, 1834, and married to Joshua Soul Hewitt May 27, 1852, in St. Mary's County. Also parents of George Hush and Elizabeth (Connelly) Hush, married October 25, 1821, at Baltimore, Md. Also name of wife of Vincent Hughes of Baltimore in 1825.

VINCENT J. HUGHES,
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CONTRIBUTORS

CARL BRENT SWISHER is professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University and author of several books in American constitutional history, among these *American Constitutional Development*, 2nd edition, 1954.

CHARLES BRANCH CLARK is a native of Howard County, Md., author of *Politics in Maryland during the Civil War*. He is presently teaching at Monmouth College of New Jersey.

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HAROLD R. MANAKEE is director of the War Records Division, Maryland Historical Society, co-author of *My Maryland* and editor of the series *Maryland in World War II*.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Report for 1957

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

LONG-LAID plans of the Society for a conference of the various historical societies throughout the State culminated on June 15 in the first annual state-wide conference of historical societies. With morning, luncheon and afternoon sessions at which all but two or three societies were represented, the group heard several constructive talks and exchanged ideas in regard to building of membership, fund-raising, improvement of exhibitions and keeping of records. The principal address was given by Dr. Sylvester K. Stevens, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, who provided a stimulating view of historical activities.

Many important gifts came to the Society, both for the library and the museum, as reported by the chairmen of the respective committees. The bequest of A. Morris Tyson gives the Society the major share of his considerable estate. About $120,000, of which $60,000 was received in 1957, will be added to our endowment fund. The Society also learned that under the will of Richard Bennett Darnall, after certain deductions, and subject to the life interest of Mrs. Darnall, one-half of his estate will come to the Society. The fund will be used to establish and endow a children's museum of Maryland history, enabling the Society to fill a long-felt need in providing suitable instructive material for school classes. The Society was also generously remembered by the will of Harry C. Black, who left his valuable property in Florida to pass eventually to the Society. Mrs. Black has relinquished her interest in the property, the sale of which will result in a considerable increase in our endowment funds.

Owing to the increase in dues which went into effect January 1, 1957, the Society enjoyed a total income of $80,373.00 as compared with $67,285.00 in 1956. Plans for expansion, which have long been under consideration, were furthered by the purchase in August of the two lots, 614 and 616 Park Avenue, constituting the parking lot across the alley from the Society on the south, with a view eventually to building a suitable auditorium, maritime museum, and rooms for work and other display. The property is under long-term lease at a satisfactory income and affords not only room for growth but important protection from undesirable encroachment.

The Society sponsored the first picture history of Baltimore to be published. The book, underwritten by Hutzler Brothers Co. in token of its 100th anniversary, contains text by Mr. Francis F. Beirne and pictures

selected with the help of the Society's staff from our own collections and from a score or more other such agencies.

A heavy loss to the Society was the death on August 24 of J. Hall Pleasants, M. D., who had been vice president since 1935. As editor of the *Archives* for 16 years, contributor of many articles to our *Magazine* and other historical publications, and author of numerous monographs, Dr. Pleasants was recognized as an authority not only on the general history of Maryland but also on American silver and painting. He had been in close association with the Society for more than 40 years and for an equal length of time a coworker with your president in furthering the proper interests of the Society. He always gave freely of his broad knowledge and experience and his sound judgment was a tremendous aid to the Society. I cannot speak of his fine service to the Society without recording also my personal distress at the loss his associates have felt in his death. My long and very warm friendship with Dr. Pleasants began when he and I were students together at Johns Hopkins.

We still have serious problems to solve, but during the past year we have made great progress in all of the fields of our activities.

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, *President.*

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

The year was marked by various staff changes: the retirement of Miss Florence J. Kennedy, which is elsewhere recorded, the employment of Mrs. Virginia Swarm as registrar of the museum and gallery, and the resignation of Miss Jessie M. Slee as a volunteer library worker. Mrs. Catherine A. Lau entered our employ as housekeeper.

Redecoration and installation of furniture, pictures and objects in the third-floor bedroom and the Confederate Room marked continuation of the program designed to freshen exhibitions and awaken new interest in our collections. Major acquisitions of the year were the portraits by John Hesselius of Governor and Mrs. Thomas Johnson, and of Mrs. Elijah Etting, by Charles Peale Polk; the original watercolors of Baltimore clippers by W. J. Huggins; "The Battle of Pultowa" in ink and wash by Maxibilian Godefroy; an aquatint view of Baltimore, 1752; French and American silver of the Malter family and papers relating to the Stone family of Charles County. The number of lots accessioned by the gallery and museum was 100, and 420 by the library.

The Society continues on short rations. The demands upon it for information, loans and research are increasing. It is no exaggeration to say that every member of the staff finds the effort to comply even to a reasonable degree with needs of the community, a test of resourcefulness and diplomacy. There is little time for organizing material as received and for taking part in programs in which the Society should participate.

During the year the Society received 14,121 visitors, including school

tours and attendance at meetings. The Library assisted authors of more than 20 books and a host of articles. Speakers on the Society's work or on general historical topics have been provided for many outside meetings. Picture material has been supplied to many publishers. There have been numerous loans of objects to schools, clubs, and department stores, and on countless occasions assistance has been given to TV and radio stations, newspapers and periodicals, both national and local.

The death of Dr. Pleasants has deprived the Society of the knowledge, experience and interest of one of its best-informed officers. Almost every phase of the Society's work has profited by his zeal; and his long and intimate association has brought acquisitions of great consequence both for the gallery and the library. His unstinting research in many fields and his sound judgment contributed to the esteem in which the Society is held. To the writer, the loss of his broad knowledge, his generosity in sharing it, and his friendship is irreparable.

JAMES W. FOSTER, *Director.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

The Committee strove to maintain the goal of strict financial management as outlined in our report last year. These include holding expenditures within the available income, managing the investments in our endowment with prudence and at the same time seeking reasonable growth of principal and income. The first year of increased dues, from $5 to $8 minimum, resulted in a substantial gain in revenue from this source, namely $27,313.00 as against $17,072.50 for 1956. There was also an increase in contributions. Net income for the year amounted to $80,373.00 as compared with $67,285.00 for 1956. The Treasurer's report shows that we ended the year with a balance of $3,439.00.

The bequest of the residuary estate of A. Morris Tyson is expected to amount to $120,000, of which $41,920.79 was received during the year and added to the endowment fund. It was also learned that under the will of the late Richard Bennett Darnall, one-half of his considerable estate, subject to the life interest of Mrs. Darnall, was left to the Society to establish and maintain a young people's museum of Maryland history.

JACOB FRANCE, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENAEUM

The acquisition of the two parking lots, Nos. 614 and 616 Park Ave., immediately to the south of our building and across a narrow alley, brought the Society a sound income-producing property and will permit expansion at the proper time. No. 614, having a frontage of 73 feet and a depth of 196 feet, was acquired from the Johns Hopkins University. The other

lot has a 25-foot frontage and a depth of 175 feet. Together these properties are yielding a return of more than 4 percent on the investment.

No major improvements were required during the year. The Confederate Room and the bedroom, both on the third floor, and the lower hall and registrar's office on the ground floor of the modern building were all redecorated during the summer.

All the properties are in generally good condition. A piece of equipment for the Scott house, 213 West Monument Street, was the only considerable purchase.

LUCIUS R. WHITE, JR., *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY

Numerous and valuable gifts continued to come to the Society during the year. A portrait of Mrs. Elijah Etting, by Charles Peale Polk, was acquired through the generosity of the Louis and Henrietta Blaustein Foundation, Inc. Likenesses of Ross Winans and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas DeKay Winans were presented by Miss Elsie W. Hutton. Other portraits of interest were oils of Mr. and Mrs. John Butler from Mr. Edward A. Stabler and of Mrs. George Murray Gill, together with pencil drawings of Mr. and Mrs. John Gill, from the estate of Mrs. Herbert M. Brune; miniatures of Captain Michael Browne Carroll, from Mrs. Richard Bennett Darnall, and of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph E. Berret, from Mrs. George J. Parke. A Staffordshire "States Platter," was the gift of Mrs. Thomas Barrett in memory of her nephew, Ensign Edwin Nash Broyles, Jr., U. S. N. R. A large ink and wash drawing, "The Battle of Pultowa," by Maximilian Godefroy, was presented by Mr. John G. Jackson, Jr. A collection of 43 pieces of flat silver, largely of French origin, was presented by Mrs. Henry Zoller, Jr.; six Kirk silver serving spoons and a gold-headed cane from the Pennington family by Mrs. Summerfield Baldwin; a silver teapot and salver by Mrs. Richard Bennett Darnall; a tall case clock, together with a fine copy of the Moale View of Baltimore, 1752, by Mr. F. Eugene Sloan; and a rapier used by Governor Thomas Johnson, by Mrs. Bessy J. C. Frey.

Portraits of Governor and Mrs. Thomas Johnson, by John Hesselius, were acquired from Mrs. Frey from a fund left by Miss Josephine C. Morris. These pictures had been on deposit with the Society since 1927. A miniature of Ann Jane Edmondson was also purchased by the Society.

Valuable additions to the Maritime Collection were two watercolors by the famous English artist, W. J. Huggins, representing Baltimore clippers of 1815-1825.

The Society announced the bequest of one-half of the estate of Richard Bennett Darnall, subject to the life interest of Mrs. Darnall, and after certain deductions, to be used to establish and maintain a museum of Maryland history for young people. Under this handsome provision the

Society will be able to encourage interest in American history and particularly the history of Maryland in this important group.

Principal exhibitions during the year included Staffordshire china; "Bon Voyage" (luggage of bygone days); paintings of the late Clark S. Marshall, the Bicentennial of Lafayette's birth, paintings and drawings by Maximilian Godefroy, and the Christmas showing of dolls, doll houses and toys.

Following the redecoration of the third floor bedroom and the Confederate Room, the furnishings of these rooms were reinstalled with a view to better presentation.

The Society was fortunate in having the assistance of 13 members of the Junior League of Baltimore, who acted as guides during a period of three months.

The employment of a registrar last April filled a gap that has long existed in the recording of museum acquisitions and the upkeep of the Society's permanent files. Mrs. Virginia Swarm has made considerable progress in catching up on the backlog, but several years will be necessary to bring up to date the card files according to classifications, names of donors and accession numbers.

JOHN H. SCARFF, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE

Miss Florence J. Kennedy, who had been assistant librarian for nearly 35 years, retired from active service in May. She had long concentrated on indexing genealogical materials and was a most useful member of the staff. A volunteer in the preparation of clippings for the Dielman Biographical Index, Miss Jessie M. Slee, was obliged to discontinue this important work, but Miss Mary Hiss took over much of the burden with the assistance of Miss Edith V. Thompson.

Mr. F. Garner Ranney obtained leave of absence for several months during the summer and Mr. David H. Fischer was employed in his place on a part-time basis for general library work. He was also able to devote time to the indexing of manuscripts.

The Library accessioned 420 lots during the year, many consisting of numerous items. Among them may be mentioned the Stone Papers, representing this prominent family of Charles County; papers of Maj.-Gen. I. Ridgeway Trimble, C. S. A., including letters of Lee and Jackson to General Trimble, which were given by his grandsons, Dr. I. R. Trimble, Jr., the Rev. David C. Trimble, and Mr. William C. Trimble; a collection of books, sheet music, photographs and scrapbooks, relating to the artistic and literary life of Baltimore, presented by the Misses Eleanor L. and Grace H. Turnbull; and a six-volume history of *Merchant Sail*, by the late William Armstrong Fairburn, presented by the Fairburn Marine Foundation. The most significant group of reference books received in many

years was presented by Mrs. J. Hall Pleasants from the library of her late distinguished husband. This consisted of 107 volumes relating to American silver and American painting. Included also were various works that have long been out of print.

Other papers relating to the following were presented or acquired during the year: letters of William Short from Miss Elizabeth S. Ridgely; letters of Brantz Mayer from Miss Elizabeth D. Steinman; letters of John Gibson and John Ross from Mrs. Alexander Randall Cheston and Mrs. Charles Lenning; account book, letters and other papers relating to the rope walk of Robert Wier from Mr. Robert Wier Wayland; genealogies of the Davis and related families from Mrs. John Staige Davis; business and family papers of the Garrett family from Mr. and Mrs. Robert Garrett; autograph album of Thomas Waters Griffith from Mrs. B. S. L. Davis.

In 1947 the National Society of Daughters of Founders and Patriots voted to restore the Calvert Papers as their Fiftieth Anniversary project. $5,000 was appropriated for this purpose and the project was completed in March, 1957. An exhibition was held in the Library on the occasion of its completion.

The Daughters of Colonial Wars, Maryland Society, contributed $50 for binding church records.

In 1957 537 books and pamphlets were catalogued. Expenditures for books and manuscripts amounted to $1,107.00 and $720.31 was spent for binding and repairing.

G. Ross Veazey, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

The death of Dr. Pleasants on August 24 brought to a close his lengthy connection with the publications of the Society, beginning in 1927 when he became editor of the *Archives.* He was also chairman of the Committee on Publications from 1948 until his death.

The usual quarterly issues of the *Magazine* appeared under the editorship of Dr. Francis C. Haber and the quarterly bulletin of the Society was continued under the editorship of the director. Volume LXVIII of the *Archives of Maryland* was in preparation and should appear during 1958.

The second printing of 8,000 copies of *My Maryland* was widely ordered by the schools of the State, and 3,185 copies have been sold. Leaflets for children continued in demand. As each leaflet in the series is exhausted, a new supply is ordered. The Star-Spangled Banner publications are distributed both to visitors and by mail.

The Hutzler Brothers Co. underwrote the cost of *Baltimore: A Picture History*, which was sponsored by the Society. Most of the preparatory work was done by the author, Mr. Beirne, and the Society's director in cooperation with Mrs. Stirling and other members of Hutzler's staff. The collections of the Society furnished a large proportion of the pictures used

in this book, while the Library staff assisted Mr. Beirne in checking for accuracy.

Various other publications of the Society were sold during the year, notably a complete set of the *Archives*, and other books issued in the series, " Studies in Maryland History."

CHARLES A. BARKER, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Net membership December 31, 1957		2780
Honorary	2	
Life	49	
Active	2729	
		2780

ELIZABETH CHEW WILLIAMS, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES

The Society offered two series of addresses, as usual, during the year 1957. The dates of the evening meetings, the speakers, and their topics were as follows:

January 21—Mrs. and Mrs. Richard Pratt. A discussion of famous American houses. (Joint meeting with the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities.)

February 11—Annual Meeting. Open house and tour of exhibitions.

March 18—Mr. Frederick S. DeMarr. " Lord Baltimore's First American Colony." Illustrated.

April 30—Mr. Hamilton Owens. " Schools and Schoolmasters in Colonial Maryland."

May 15—Mr. Marriner S. Eccles. " The Relation of Monetary and Fiscal Policy to Economic Stability."

September 25—M. Pierre Boyer. " Lafayette, Friend of America."

October 10—Mr. Francis F. Beirne. " A Century of Baltimore History." Illustrated.

In the afternoon series, lectures were as follows:

February 19—Mrs. Martha G. Fales. " Early American Silver."

March 5—Dr. Arthur H. Merritt. " This Amazing America—The Story of Old Blue China."

JOHN E. SEMMES, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE WAR RECORDS DIVISION

In 1957 the Society's War Records Division completed the manuscript for *Maryland In World War II—Home Front Volunteer Services*, and State officials awarded a printing contract on the basis of competitive bids. Upon publication this book will complete the original four-volume program planned by the Committee.

The Division also worked at the long task of alphabetizing about 250,000 copies of the discharges of the State's World War II veterans. At the year's end all were broken down through the second letter of the last name; those from A to M were separated through the third letter; and those from A to F were fully alphabetized. This work continues.

At a conference with Governor Theodore R. McKeldin and Major General Milton A. Reckord, The Adjutant General, plans were formulated to publish an alphabetical register of those Marylanders who served in World War II.

JOHN T. MENZIES, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Many calls for talks on Maryland history were met by the Society's officers and staff. The President, as usual, spoke on the Society's work on many occasions, often on specific historical topics in various parts of the state and occasionally outside its borders. The Director, Mr. Foster, Mr. Harold R. Manakee, and Miss Eugenia C. Holland also addressed various groups. Mr. Manakee had charge of conducting or supervising tours by school children of the Society's exhibitions. He organized and presented a series of 8 meetings in the "Workshop on Maryland History" in which 177 teachers participated.

W. CALVIN CHESNUT, *Chairman*

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RELATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIETIES

The Committee organized the first conference of historical societies of Maryland that has ever been held. It met on June 15 at the Society, adjourning for lunch at the Stafford Hotel, and then returned to the Society for the final session. More than 50 persons attended and almost all county historical societies were represented, as well as the Historical Society of York County, Pa.

Those who attended agreed at the close of the meeting that the sessions had been well worth while. Though no formal organization was affected, the consensus was that a similar conference should be held from time to time.

Among groups that held meetings at the Society's headquarters during the year were the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland; the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland and the Colonial Dames of America, Chapter I, (joint meeting); the Woman's Eastern Shore Society; the Daughters of the Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland; the Society of the Ark and the Dove; the Thomas Johnson Chapter of the D. A. R.; the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities; and the history teachers of the Baltimore City public schools.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE, *Chairman.*

COMMITTEE ON THE MARITIME COLLECTION

Through the industry and careful work of a member of the Committee, Mr. R. H. Gibson, the Martimie Collection as a whole has for the first time been recorded in complete detail. Mr. Gibson spent at least a day a week for much of the year entering the name, a brief description, and pertinent data on each object. He also helped to relocate parts of the collection and stored items of lesser importance, giving as well valuable technical advice in regard to a number of acquisitions.

Mr. R. H. Randall, in charge of new accessions, has obtained gifts of many items of interest and value. His wide acquaintance among Chesapeake watermen and his knowledge of shipyard activity have been exceedingly helpful to the committee.

Principal accessions during the year included two original watercolors of Baltimore clippers by W. J. Huggins, English marine artist. These were acquired in New York through the keen eyes of another member, Mr. John Goldsborough Earle. A good model of the CHESAPEAKE, first steamboat on the Bay, was presented by Mrs. Joseph M. Wright, through Mr. Graham Wood. A Wheeler Line steamboat model was presented by Mr. F. E. Wheeler. A set of framed English aquatints of the Nelson era naval battles was received from the Dr. W. B. Wood collection. These are the work of Robert Dodd, and mark the summit of the engraver's art. A carved trailboard of the bay schooner APOLLA was acquired from Mr. R. H. Burgess, of Newport News, through exchange.

The inventory of our collection, excluding library materials, now includes 1376 items in 19 different categories. There are 154 models, 111 paintings and drawings, 108 prints, 61 pieces of ship-carving, 207 tools, 142 items of gear and 25 pieces of navigator's equipment. The collection is gaining in size and stature, but much remains to be done in its further development and display. We regard this a a community project of the first importance.

G. H. POUDER, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

GENERAL FUND

Statement of Operations

for the year ended December 31, 1957

Income

Dues		$27,313.00
Contributions		6,446.00
Investments		
Endowment Fund	$10,142.85	
Daingerfield Fund	7,825.54	
Wild Fund	2,509.20	
A. Morris Tyson	815.88	
		$21,293.47
Legacies		
H. Oliver Thompson Estate	$ 1,528.14	
Jane J. Cook Estate	596.97	
		$ 2,125.11
Publications		
Sales—General	$ 8,674.06	
Advertising	1,012.80	
Star Spangled Banner Publications	215.67	
My Maryland (publication)	8,715.82	
		$18,618.35
Miscellaneous Income		
Service Charges and Fees	$ 329.21	
Rent—209, 211, 213 W. Monument St.	6,519.21	
Rent—614-616 Park Avenue	3,696.00	
Sale of J. C. Morris Effects	2,602.31	
Other Income	1,680.54	
		$14,827.27
Total Income		$90,623.20

Expenses

Addresses	$ 974.84
Building Supplies	1,895.19
Commissions	1,052.50
Depreciation	28.50
Gallery	659.56
Heat	2,113.21
Insurance	2,310.90
Interest Expense	25.08
Library—Binding and Repairs	720.31
" —Books and Manuscripts	800.01
" —Miscellaneous	829.31
Light and Hot Water	1,014.12
Membership Extension	282.46
Maintenance and Repairs	874.74
"My Maryland" Publication	12,179.06
Miscellaneous Expense	1,173.45

Office Supplies	1,027.93	
Postage	169.09	
Photographs and Prints Ordered by Patrons	149.02	
Publications—General	10,697.96	
Salaries	41,701.00	
Scott House Expenses	1,348.24	
Morris House Expenses	1,624.30	
Taxes—Social Security	1,202.22	
Taxes—Property	787.39	
Telephone	1,045.44	
Travel	498.37	
TOTAL EXPENSES		$87,184.20
EXCESS of INCOME over EXPENDITURES transferred to SURPLUS		($3,439.00)

BALANCE SHEET—DECEMBER 31, 1957

CURRENT FUND ASSETS

Current Assets			
Cash in Bank		$ 7,087.14	
Petty Cash		100.00	
Due from Endowment Fund		41,741.29	
			$ 48,928.43
Fixed Assets			
Real Estate		$100,000.00	
Books		1.00	
Manuscripts and Prints		1.00	
Paintings and Statuary		1.00	
Furniture and Fixtures	$286.00		
Less Depreciation Allowance	199.50	86.50	
			$100,089.50
TOTAL CURRENT FUND ASSETS			$149,017.93
Endowment Fund			
Cash Corpus		$ 729.07	
Cash Deposit—Baltimore Equitable Society		90.00	
Mortgage Receivable		18,398.54	
Due from Special Funds		5,000.00	
Real Estate		316,614.76	
Bonds		38,257.46	
Stocks		56,774.54	
Ground Rent		666.66	
TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND ASSETS			$436,531.03
Daingerfield Fund Assets			
Cash Corpus		$ 106.67	
Bonds		66,223.74	
Stocks		87,283.86	
TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND ASSETS			$153,614.27

Wild Fund		
Cash Corpus	$ 152.41	
Bonds	30,300.00	
Stocks	31,734.11	
Ground Rent	1,307.00	
TOTAL WILD FUND ASSETS		$ 63,493.52
TOTAL ASSETS		$802,656.75

CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES

Current Liabilities		
Special Fund Account		$ 8,083.33
Net Worth		
Surplus		$140,934.60
TOTAL CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES and NET WORTH		$149,017.93
Endowment Funds		
Due to General Fund	$ 41,741.29	
Endowment Fund	394,789.74	
TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND		$436,531.03
Daingerfield Fund	$153,614.27	
TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND		$153,614.27
Wild Fund	$ 63,493.52	
TOTAL WILD FUND		$ 63,493.52
		$802,656.75

June Fifth
Nineteen Hundred Fifty Eight

We have examined the Balance Sheet and related Statement of Income and Expense of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland as of December 31, 1957. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and accordingly, included tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we deemed necessary.

In our opinion, the accompaning Balance Sheet and related Statement of Income and Expense, fairly present the financial position of the Maryland Historical Society at December 31, 1957, and the result of operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

ROBERT W. BLACK,
Certified Public Accountant

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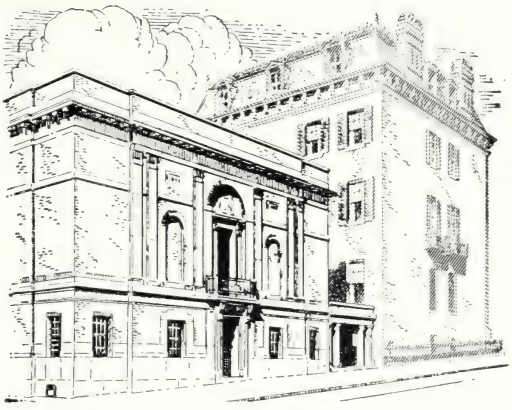

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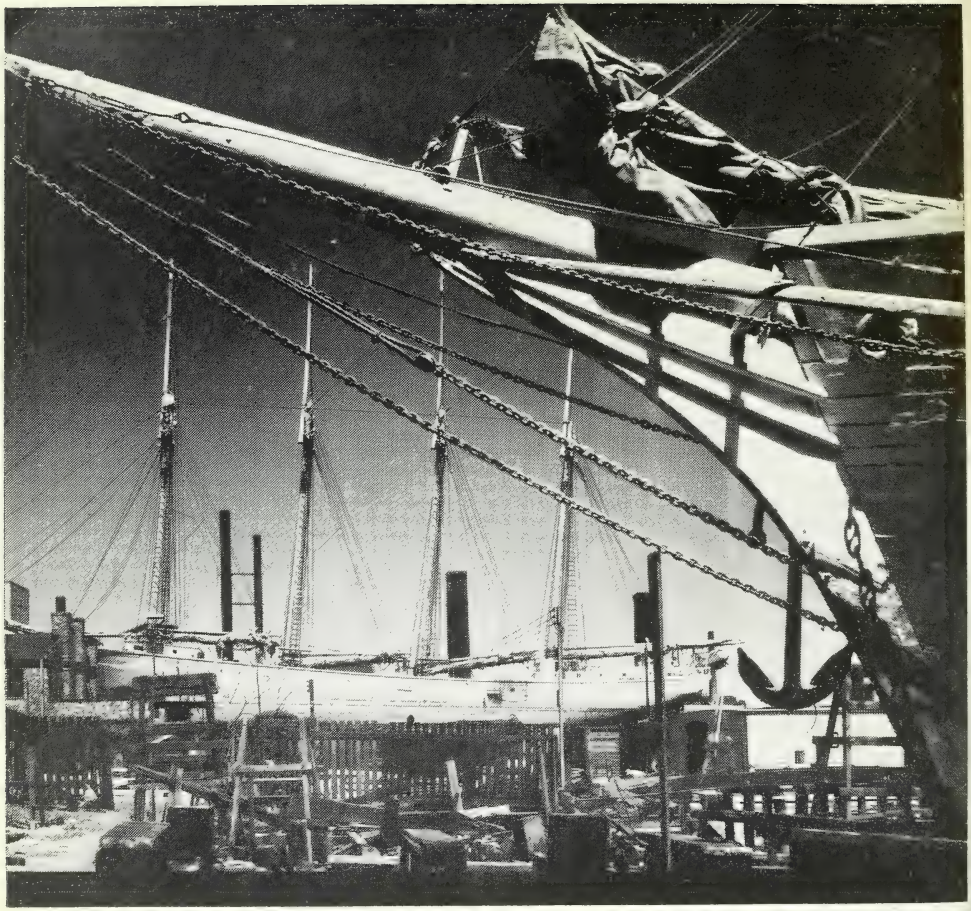

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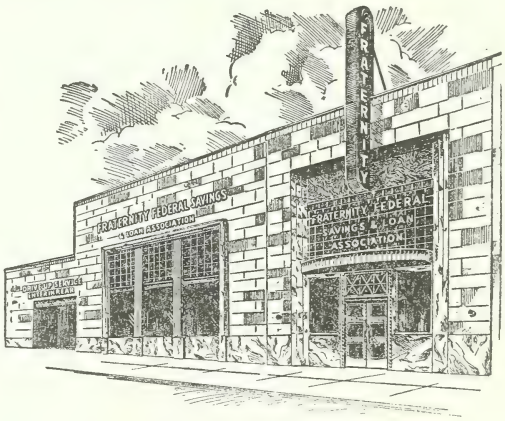

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Cover: The cover picture of this issue is a lithograph of the British attack on Fort McHenry. (see p. 211) The artist is unknown except by the initials E. S. It is a striking picture but highly inaccurate judging from the recent research of National Park Service historians. For example, the Fort is pictured as almost rectangular when it was in 1814, as it is now, a pentagonal structure. The type of buildings shown within the Fort also were not present in 1814. The battery at Lazaretto Point, with the chain boom and sunken hulks blocking the mouth of the harbor, is not shown. But for all of its inaccuracies, the picture is important, as it represents one of many artists' conceptions of the Defense of Fort McHenry. Its valiant stand is a symbol of the courage of Marylanders and other Americans in the War of 1812.

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Richard Walsh, *Editor*
C. A. Porter Hopkins, *Asst. Editor*

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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THE RESTORATION OF FORT McHENRY

By S. Sydney Bradford

THROUGHOUT the United States the National Park Service conducts research in connection with the many historic sites under its administration. Consequently, the Park Service can help to recreate for visitors the historically important moment in a building or on a battlefield.[1] As a part of Mission 66, a ten-year Park Service conservation program, a special Historical and Archeological Research Project has been underway at Fort McHenry since May 1, 1957.[2] The purpose of this project is to locate as much information as possible concerning both the site itself and what has taken place there, to write definitive studies of the fort, and to plan the future development of Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine.

[1] An outstanding example of this kind is at Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia. Since 1951 the Park Service has conducted research on Independence Hall, and its restoration is well advanced.

[2] Mission 66 was begun in 1956 and will end in 1966, the fiftieth anniversary

At Fort McHenry the first step taken was to make a survey of possible source material. Because Fort McHenry was an army post between 1794 and 1925, it was realized that work would have to be done at the National Archives, the depository for federal records. It was also evident that the extensive manuscript and newspaper resources of the Maryland Historical Society would have to be used. Through the help of numerous guides to other depositories, such as the *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*,[3] a list of archives that appeared to have material relevant to the fort was created. From this list only those depositories that seemed to have the most promising sources were selected to be visited, since a time limit for research would not permit us to visit every depository on the list.

Although two Park Service historians were permanently assigned to the project, it soon became clear that they alone could not complete the work in the selected archives within the allotted time. Turning to historians outside of the Park Service, the project secured the services of Dr. Richard Walsh, Assistant Professor of Early American History, Georgetown University. After consultation with the project's permanent staff, Dr. Walsh, plus two graduate students from Georgetown University, were given the responsibility of searching for Fort McHenry records in the National Archives. In addition, two graduate students from Johns Hopkins University were employed to work in depositories in Baltimore. By the first of June, 1957, the research program was fully underway.

Research for a cooperative historical project must be carried out on an organized basis. Consequently, certain basic operational procedures were followed. First, it was agreed that all material pertaining to Fort McHenry or the attack on Baltimore was to be obtained, regardless of whether or not an individual researcher thought it valuable. Judgment of the material's importance would be made at a later time. Second, all letters and other relevant documents were to be microfilmed or photostated. Only as a last resort were records to be copied by hand. The photographic repro-

of the founding of the Park Service. It is hoped by then that all Park Service areas will be as fully developed as possible for the benefit of visitors.

[3] B. S. Levin, ed., *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: 1949).

duction of records saved time and produced complete and absolutely accurate copies of manuscripts. Third, the researchers met every three weeks in a seminar to discuss their findings and bring up questions, thereby keeping abreast of developments. Work was carried on in this manner until June 30, 1958.

Copies of documents began to arrive at Fort McHenry soon after research began.[4] This influx necessitated the organization of a filing system. As finally decided upon, all material was to be filed chronologically in loose-leaf notebooks. In addition, if a document referred to one or more topical classifications, such as "Star Fort," "Outer Works," or "Star Spangled Banner," the necessary cross-reference sheets for it were placed in the appropriate topical notebooks. At the moment, over 15,000 documents have been filed and cross-referenced in binders for the years between 1776 and 1957. Maps, plans, and photographs were also filed chronologically.

Archeological research was planned from the beginning of the project. On January 1, 1958, archeologist G. Hubert Smith joined the staff. After a period of time for studying the material on hand and consultation with the historians, Mr. Smith began excavations at Fort McHenry. Both hand labor and a mechanical digger were used in areas adjacent to the star fort in searching for possible remains dating from the early days of the site. Excavations were also made within the star fort.

The labor entailed in all of the preceding has been productive. Dr. Walsh and his aides found a great quantity of relevant information in the National Archives, where thousands upon thousands of documents were examined. One very important record found there is a list of materials needed in 1829 in order to add a second story to the barracks within the star fort.[5] From the Clements Library, the Maryland Historical Society, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Historian Franklin R. Mullaly gathered copies of documents that throw new light on the fort and the attack on Baltimore. The James McHenry Papers at the Clements Library, for example, contain letters that contribute additional information on the construction of Fort McHenry in

[4] Microfilmed material was printed by means of the Xerox process.

[5] S. B. Dusenbury to Gen. Thomas S. Jessup, 24 February, 1829, Office of the Quartermaster General, Consolidated Correspodence File, Record Group 92, National Archives.

the 1790's.[6] Documents from the Maryland Hall of Records, the New York Historical Society, and the Peabody Institute have increased our knowledge of Fort McHenry's predecessor, Fort Whetstone, and the life of soldiers in both forts. One document shows that the garrison at Fort Whetstone petitioned the governor of Maryland in November, 1776, for adequate rations and clothing, since they could "never Subsist . . . [the] Winter on the provision we receive at present.[7]" Through archeology the cellar of a tavern that was just outside of Fort McHenry early in the nineteenth century was found. An officer, in commenting on the government's possible purchase of the tavern, wrote that "The advantages that the Government would derive from the possession of this property, it is not necessary for me to set forth to an Officer of your experience." [8]

The material gained by research is now being evaluated. This study will result in written reports on various aspects of Fort McHenry's history, such as detailed investigations of the fort's appearance in 1814 and the attack on Baltimore by the British. These reports will then form the basis for the forth-coming development of this nationally important and historic area.

[6] Franklin R. Mullaly, "Research for HARP at the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 17 April, 1958, p. 17, Research File, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine.

[7] [Petition of Captain Nathaniel Smith's Company of Mattrosses], 7 November, 1776, Red Books, Volume 24, Maryland Hall of Records.

[8] Major M. M. Payne to Major General T. S. Jessup, 1 June, 1829, Office of the Quartermaster General, Consolidated Correspondence File, Record Group 92, National Archives.

ROGER B. TANEY'S "BANK WAR MANUSCRIPT"

Edited by CARL BRENT SWISHER

(*Concluded from June*)

The day after the meeting of which I have been speaking, some business called me to the President's and I saw Mr. Donelson in the room which he occupied as an office. I do not recollect whether he invited me in when he saw me, or I went there because I had business with him. He read to me the paragraph in the message, altered as herein before mentioned and in the form in which it was ultimately sent in, and said the President had directed him to show it to me. It was still far short of what I wished. I certainly did not desire the President to say in his message that he would veto the bill if Congress should pass one. This would hardly have been respectful to the Legislative body. But I wished him after stating that he still entertained the opinions set forth in his former messages, to recommend to Congress to make some provision by law for the safe keeping and disbursement of the public money and its transmission from place to place to take effect when the charter of the Bank should expire. This would have shown his fixed opinions that the Bank was not to be continued, and would have been understood to imply, that he would feel himself bound to exercise all his constitutional powers to prevent it. While the inference most naturally to be drawn, as the message originally stood, was, that, having performed his constitutional duty in stating his objections he submitted the question to the decision of Congress.—Indeed the whole passage in relation to the Bank appeared to me to be studiously ambiguous and words introduced into it and put together in such a manner as to make it look more like a justification, or an excuse to the friends of the Bank, than a settled determination to resist it.

The alteration which the President had made in it could hardly remove the ambiguity. Yet I preferred it to the first draft, and I was the more pleased with it because the fact that any alteration was made to avoid the inference to which I objected, indicated as I thought that the President did not mean to abandon the ground he had taken:—nor to encourage hopes that he would do so.

The message was an unfortunate one and produced much mischief. The acquiescence of the President in its ambiguous and indecisive language, and his refusal to take stronger ground encouraged Mr. McLane to believe that with his present advisers in the cabinet he could be induced

after a time to retrace his steps. The annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury to Congress was sent in two or three weeks after the message, and this report showed what were the hopes of Mr. McLane. For although there was nothing which required an expression of his opinion in that report in relation to the necessity or constitutionality of the Bank, yet acting it would seem upon the impression above stated he used the opportunity to offer a strong argument in support of it, and insisted on the propriety and necessity of renewing its charter. It was in truth an answer to the President's former messages, and if the President intended to adhere to the ground he had taken, this report presented the extraordinary spectacle of the President and his Secretary of the Treasury standing in hostile attitudes to each other upon a great financial measure, deeply affecting the whole community upon which the public mind had become excited, and contending against each other for the support of Congress and the people. I did not suppose that either the President or McLane would consent to present such an anomaly in the Executive Department of the Government. And as the report of the Secretary of the Treasury is always read to the President before it is sent in, I supposed when I saw the report [of Mr. McLane] that my first apprehensions when I left the Cabinet meeting as before mentioned were well founded, and that this report was intended to prepare the public mind for the change of ground. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury was not usually read in Cabinet, and its contents were therefore unknown to the other members unless the Secretary thought proper to show it to them. I never saw this report until it was printed by order of Congress and had not supposed that it would contain a word about the Bank. I read it with the utmost surprise. For if the President's opinion had undergone a change, this did not seem the proper mode of indicating it. His altered views of the subject should at least have worn the appearance of having been produced by his own further experience and reflections, and not the sudden result of the influence which one of his Secretaries had obtained over him. The change in his opinion might have been better told by the President himself in his message the next year.

This report as may be well supposed excited a good deal of attention and was the subject of much conversation among the politicians at Washington. I mixed very little with them at that season. For the Supreme Court was in session; I was never in the office of Attorney General, and my time was fully occupied in the preparation and argument of the cases in which the government was interested and which stood for trial at that Term. I attended the Cabinet meetings only occasionally, having requested the President to excuse me on account of my engagements in Court, and I never had any conversation with him on the subject of this report and never heard him say why he permitted it to be sent in, and retained Mr. McLane in office. Nor do I recollect that I ever conversed about it with any member of the Cabinet. I supposed myself to stand alone there upon this measure and had no inducement therefore to seek a conference with

any of them; and indeed very seldom saw any of them except at public places during the winter. But I had occasional conversations with gentlemen in and out of Congress who were warmly attached to Genl. Jackson personally and politically, who had known him intimately for a long time, and who like myself were opposed to the Bank. They understood the character of his mind, much better than I then did, and knowing my opinions talked to me freely. They strongly disapproved of Mr. McLane's report, and thought the President had committed a serious political error in consenting to its being sent in, and still retaining him in office. But they did not consider it as evidence that the course of the President in relation to the Bank would be changed. They said that having brought Mr. McLane into the Treasury Department with a knowledge of his opinions he would never object to his expressing them in any manner or any form Mr. McLane might desire, but that he would act upon his own. And that having made up his opinion as appeared by his former messages he was not likely to change it.

I listened to all this I confess with some incredulity. It might be so. For I had been struck with his magnanimous bearing: and his willingness upon all occasions to give those opposed to him an open and fair field; and also the firmness with which he made up an opinion, and his confidence that it would be sustained by the people, whoever might oppose it. But yet it was obvious that in appealing to public opinion, the arguments of Mr. McLane as Genl. Jackson's selected Secretary of the Treasury would have infinitely more influence, than the arguments of Mr. McLane a private individual opposing Genl. Jackson's leading measures. He had too much sagacity not to see this, and I could hardly suppose that the high chivalry, so much to be admired in private life, which offers odds to the adversary in a conflict, could lead him to commit such an error in Statesmanship. I still therefore apprehended that before the period for recharter came round, the President would be greatly softened down in his opposition, and that the influence of the new Cabinet on the public mind would secure the recharter by a decisive majority in Congress.

The fruits of these mistaken measures soon showed themselves, but in a way I had not anticipated, and which I am sure was equally unexpected by the members of the Cabinet who had been concerned in them or approved of them. For in a short time after the report of the Secretary of the Treasury had gone in, a petition on behalf of the Bank was presented to Congress praying that a law might pass at that session renewing the charter. The reason assigned in the petition for presenting it at that time was obviously a pretext and could deceive nobody. It stated that if the charter was not to be continued, it was necessary that the Bank should know it at once, in order that it might have time to wind up its concerns gradually without loss to the stockholders or inconvenience to the community. This petition was presented it will be observed in the winter of 1832 and the charter did not expire until March 3rd 1836, and it had two years more to wind up its affairs.

But the truth was that the ambiguous tone of the message followed by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury ⟨*in favor of the Bank*⟩ had perplexed and mystified the friends of Genl. Jackson: and weakened the opposition to the ⟨*renewal of the charter which up to that time had been daily gaining strength.*⟩ Bank. His political opponents regarded these measures as proof that he feared the influence of the Bank and its friends in the approaching election of President, and was either retreating from his old ground, or seaking to evade the issue until the election was over. And feeling that they had been greatly strengthened by the Secretary's report, and the friends of Genl. Jackson thrown into confusion, they determined to force the question upon him and compel him to meet it before the election. Those who suspected him of such motives knew but little of him, as subsequent events abundantly showed them. But political partizans are very seldom just to their opponents, and those, who were opposed to Genl. Jackson, always appeared to me to be determined to shut their eyes to his true character.

Yet with all the advantages which these unfortunate Executive proceedings had given to the Bank, the application was injudicious, and every motive of policy and interest should have forbidden it at that session. The discussions upon the propriety of renewal up to that time had been confined to political leaders and newspapers in the interest of the Bank. The attention of the people generally had not been drawn to the serious objections which existed against it. And as matters then stood, with Mr. McLane in the Treasury Department, and a majority of the Cabinet willing to concur with him, the renewal of the charter was generally regarded by the public as a thing certainly to take place at the proper time. The utmost that its opponents hoped to accomplish was to engraft on it some new restrictions of power. But by bringing forward the question at that time the Bank took the hazard of a veto; and if Genl. Jackson did veto it, the subject must evidently become one of the most exciting topics in the approaching elections. And many of his friends who had heretofore supported the charter might in the division of parties be compelled to choose between Genl. Jackson and the Bank; and might in a heated party struggle be converted from friends into enemies. ⟨*Because a veto with the election following immediately after it would necessarily bring to the serious attention of the people, and expose the misconduct of the institution and its dangerous tendencies. It would moreover provoke attacks upon it.*⟩ Its conduct would be freely investigated and its hidden abuses and corruptions brought to light, and the public opinion would not be formed from one sided statements or the eulogies of presses under its influence, or from partisan reports and speeches in Congress. The whole subject would necessarily be thoroughly sifted in the canvass and the public opinion then favorable to the Bank might be changed. Up to that time I think no press in the Union had taken ground against it, or if one or more had expressed an unfavorable opinion it had not been done in a manner to awaken much attention. Nor do I remember that

any speech was made against it in Congress of sufficient force to be generally read by any one except Colo. Benton.[30] With all these advantages it was hardly the interest of the stockholders to hazard a veto, and run the risk of making the renewal of the charter a party question depending upon the popular vote.

And yet a veto in some form or other seemed almost inevitable. For if Genl. Jackson had begun to hesitate in his opinion and had become disposed to leave the question to the decision of Congress when it should come before them at the proper time, it was impossible for him to change his ground under existing circumstances without subjecting himself to the suspicion of acting from unworthy motives. Everybody felt that there was no necessity for a decision at that Session; that the question was unnecessarily forced upon him by the Bank; that it was in truth nothing more nor less than a threat to him to beware of its hostility at the approaching election; and if he had assented to the renewal, it would have afforded strong grounds for suspecting that he had corruptly bargained for its support, or that even his bold spirit quailed before its power, and that he violated his own conscience and what he believed his duty to the public rather than face its ⟨*hostility*⟩ opposition. If he had signed a bill brought forward at such a time and under such circumstances, it would not only have shaken the confidence of the public in the integrity and purity of his motives; but the example and influence of one who stood so high in character and in office might have had an injurious effect upon the political morality of the country. For many ambitious politicians I fear are too apt to think intrigue and bargain for personal advantages are fair weapons in the struggles for power. It seemed to me impossible therefore that Genl. Jackson should not veto the bill if passed at that session. Public as well as personal considerations would compel him to do so. And when I first heard the petition was presented or about to be presented, I doubted the truth of the report, and supposed the stockholders could hardly be guilty of so much folly, and wantonly put in jeopardy the value of their stocks. But it turned out that I was mistaken.

They had submitted everything to the control of Mr. Biddle, and he it would seem had his own views. Many of the friends of Genl. Jackson who were warmly supporting his election, and who were also in favor of renewing the charter, remonstrated against bringing up the question at that time, and made efforts to prevent it. And some of them warned Mr. Biddle that although favorable to a recharter, they would oppose the passage of the law at that session. Their opposition certainly produced some hesitation on his part. I do not remember at what period of the session the petition was presented, and have not the journals before me. But the subject was not pressed upon Congress until late in the session. The bill did not pass until a few days before its close, and it did not close until the 14th of July.

At one period it was said that the petition would be withdrawn, or at

[30] Thomas Hart Benton, United States Senator from Missouri.

all events not pressed; that some of the stockholders had become convinced of the impolicy of urging it under existing circumstances and were remonstrating against it. This was for some time the impression of those with whom I conversed, and it was said that Mr. Biddle himself began to doubt whether it would be prudent for him to proceed in the face of so much opposition from persons interested in or friendly to the Bank.

But after a delay of some weeks, it became evident that the question would be vigorously pushed forward to an issue. Whether the delay arose from the causes above mentioned, or was necessary in order to ascertain whether a majority in both Houses of Congress in favor of the Charter could be obtained, I do not know. It was understood at the time that Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster informed Mr. Biddle that if the petition was not presented and urged on at that Session, that he must not count on their support at a future time, but must expect to meet their decided opposition, and that this had determined him to proceed. Such a communication was I believe certainly made by those two gentlemen to Mr. Biddle. The information came to me from sources which left no room for doubt. But my own opinion was and still is that Mr. Biddle was himself bent upon going on unless he was prevented by the Directors or stockholders. He was offended with the course Genl. Jackson had pursued towards the institution, and was strongly opposed to him, and determined to place him in what he supposed would be a dilemma. He persuaded himself that Genl. Jackson would hardly dare to meet the bill with an absolute and unqualified veto. But if he did, he felt confident that the popularity of the Bank and the influence it could exercise would defeat his re-election. And if he assented to the Bill, or appeared to temporize and evade the issue presented to him, it would be regarded as proof that he feared the Bank, and destroy the high place he then held in the confidence and affections of the people. In either case his resentment would be gratified. I cannot believe that he acted from any apprehension of hostility from Mr. Clay or Mr. Webster,[31] or was influenced by their threats. Both of these gentlemen ⟨*were retained counsel for the Bank and were in the habit of receiving large fees from it, and had personal interest in continuance*⟩ had publicly and repeatedly expressed their opinions in favor of the Bank, and maintained that it was a necessary agent in the collection of the revenue. The great majority of the stockholders as well as of the Directors of the mother Bank and its numerous Branches and officers were the politcal friends of these two gentlemen, and members of the same party. And their leading paper (the National Intelligencer) was virtually owned by the Bank and under its control. Wtih a full knowledge of all these circumstances Mr. Biddle had obviously nothing to fear from the threats of Mr. Clay or Mr. Webster, and knew that they could not come out in opposition to a recharter without forfeiting the support of a majority of their party, and surrendering their hopes of political elevation. But whether he was prompted by his own inclinations or by fears of the

[31] Daniel Webster, United States Senator from Massachusetts.

hostility of the gentlemen above named, in either case the application of that time was a political movement leveled at Genl. Jackson, and converted a corporation, which had been created as a fiscal agent and merely for the fiscal purposes of the government, into a powerful political partisan seeking to govern the government by controlling the election of its officers.

As soon as it was understood that the Bank had finally determined to have a decision upon their petition at that session, much excitement was produced at Washington. Many of the supporters of Genl. Jackson who before had been favorable to the Bank, now openly opposed it. They saw that it was a political movement and became satisfied that the existence of a corporation of such immense powers, capable of exercising such corrupting influences, and so ready to enter into political contests was dangerous to our liberties and ought not to be longer continued. Other friends of Genl. Jackson whose constituents were known to be favorable to a recharter were much embarrassed in their course. This was particularly the case, with the Senators and Representatives from Pennsylvania, where the Legislature had been induced to pass resolutions recommending a renewal, without being at all aware I presume of the purposes for which the application was to be used. Some of the decided friends of Genl. Jackson ⟨*I doubt not*⟩ supported the Bill under the impression that their duty to their constituents required it, and found afterwards that their constituents as soon as the subject was understood, wished them to support the President.

There was never any doubt of the passage of the Bill in the Senate. But in the House of Representatives, a large majority had been elected of what was then called the Jackson Party, and it was at one time considered as uncertain whether the Bill would pass that House. Many opposed it as out of time, and merely intended to influence the approaching election, who would have voted for it if brought forward after the election. The debate upon it was long and animated. But the Bank watched the proceedings and knew how to secure friends when a close division was apprehended. I must mention an anecdote upon the subject. It was known that I was opposed to the Bank. While the debate was going on in the House I happened one rainy day in going to the Supreme Court in a hack to find myself in company with a member of the House ⟨*from North Carolina* (*Mr. Carson*).[32]⟩ He was my only companion in the carriage, and I had frequently before met him at the President's at the informal evening assemblages, where he was always spoken of and treated as one of the President's warmest friends. We had become well acquainted with each other, and on our way to the Capitol he said he wished to make a speech against the Bank, but from want of exact information on the subject he might fall into mistakes, and would be much obliged to me if I would state in writing my objections and send them to him. I endeavored to excuse myself, telling him (as was truly the case,) that I was very much engaged with my official duties in the Supreme Court; and

[32] Samuel Price Carson.

besides as a member of the Presidents Cabinet I did not like to interfere with the proceedings in the House. He however urged me a good deal saying that what passed between us must not be known to any one else;—that he meant to publish his speech, and was anxious therefore to put it upon grounds that would bear the closest examination; that he had already arrayed some of the heads of his argument, but did not like to appear upon them before the public without comparing them with the views of others; that he knew I must have studied the subject carefully, and it would give me but little trouble and take but little of my time to put my views in writing, and that he did not intend to make his speech for some days. I told him however that I must according to my then impressions decline for the reasons above mentioned, but I would think further of it, and if I found time, and thought upon more reflection that I could with propriety comply with his request I would send him the heads of my opinion with a brief statement of the facts on which it was founded. It so happened that my engagements in Court and in official duties filled up my time and put it out of my power to gratify him even if my other objection could have been surmounted. In about a week or fortnight after I conversed with him I went to Annapolis to attend the Maryland Court of Appeals and did not see him again before I left Washington. The question was taken while I was absent. And upon looking over the ayes and noes, I saw with the utmost surprise that he had voted in favor of the renewal. Upon my return I mentioned what had passed to a friend who mixed very much with public men, and was always remarkably well informed upon passing events, and asked him if there was not some mistake in the newspaper notice of this vote. He said no; that ⟨*Carson*⟩ the member of whom I spoke had obtained a loan of twenty thousand dollars from the Bank, and had changed his opinion.

Now I do not mean to say that he was directly bribed to give this vote. From the character he sustained and from what I knew of him I think he would have resented anything that he regarded as an attempt to corrupt him. But he wanted the money, and felt grateful for the favor, and perhaps thought that an institution which was so useful to him, and had behaved with so much kindness, could not be injurious or dangerous to the public, and that it would be as well to continue it. Men when under the influence of interest or passion often delude themselves thoughtlessly, and do not always acknowledge even to themselves the motives upon which they really act. They sometimes persuade themselves that they are acting on a motive consistent with their own self respect, and sense of right, and shut their eyes to the one which in fact governs their conduct. It was one of the dangers arising from this mammoth money power, that its very duties as collecting and disbursing agent brought it constantly in contact with members of Congress and other public functionaries and made it acquainted with their wants and enabled it to place them under obligations and create a feeling of dependence or even gratitude without the direct and offensive offer of a bribe. In cases where it intended to

operate it was not very particular about the indorsers or the sufficiency of the securities offered. Its losses upon these political loans were enormous. How many received pecuniary favors during that session and during the " panic war " we shall never know. I have heard many names mentioned, some of them high in influence. But it would be improper to repeat them as I have no absolute proof upon the subject. Certain it is, that a week before I left Washington all doubt about the passage of the Bill had vanished, and it was well understood that there was a dead majority in the House determined to carry it. Indeed before the close of the debate the tone of some of the speakers in favor of the Bank was very much like a defiance to the President; and a disposition was manifested to make the Bill come to him attended by offensive circumstances, so as to make it humiliating to approve it, even if he had changed his opinion. Something was said in the House after or shortly before the Bill passed about fixing a day for closing the session, when one of the leaders of the opposition Mr. McDuffie took occasion to remark that he hoped the House would not adjourn for ten days after the Bank Bill was sent to the President; evidently intimating by this remark that as Genl. Jackson was not bound by the constitution to act on the Bill unless it was presented to him ten days before the close of the session, there was reason to suppose, if it was not presented in time, that he would endeavor to avoid the responsibility of either vetoing or approving it until the election of President was over: and would hold it up without any action upon it, until the next Session. The politicians were obviously pressing it not for the benefit of the Bank, but for the purpose of embarrassing and defying Genl. Jackson, and under the impression if he did veto it, he would inevitably be overthrown at the coming election. ⟨*They knew little of him, if they supposed he felt any embarrassment or hesitation on the subject.*⟩

Pains were taken also to show that the passage of the Bill was regarded not as a grave measure in which nothing but public duties and feelings were concerned, but rather as a personal contest between Mr. Biddle and the President, in which the former was the victor. He must have been in constant communication with its friends in the House and have known precisely the day on which it would be forced through by the majority. For he arrived in Washington on the night of its passage, and made his appearance in the House the next day, when the public business was for sometime interrupted by the number of members leaving their seats and crowding about him, and shaking hands with him and congratulating him. It was a public triumph given him in the Hall of the House. Nor did it end there. They crowded about him again that night at his lodgings when they feasted high and drank toasts and made speeches, and celebrated the victory, taking pains to make their rejoicing sufficiently vociferous to be heard in the streets and sufficiently public to make sure that it would reach the ears of the President. And after enjoying his triumph Mr. Biddle left Washington without deigning to pay the President the ordinary visit of etiquette. It was treated as his victory: or rather the certain harbinger of Genl. Jackson's overthrow: not a mere law continuing a fiscal agent of the Government.

While the Bill was pending in the House, I was constantly beset with letters and calls, urging me to advise the President to sign the Bill. I was continually told that I was the only member of the Cabinet opposed to it, and that the President would hardly veto it, if his Cabinet were unanimous. And it is wonderful how easily intelligent and respectable gentlemen from kindness or facility of disposition, can be persuaded to give advice on such occasions, and repeat trite arguments, without stopping to consider whether your capacity for judging may not be equal to their own and your opportunities of information far greater.

And yet during all this struggle and vehement debate out of doors, it may seem strange, that the President never spoke to me on the subject nor I to him. Nor had I any reason for believing he would veto the Bill except his public declaration in his inaugural address and in his annual messages, and my knowledge of the immoveable firmness of his character and purity and patriotism of his motives. I was quite sure that he would lose his election ten times over rather than do anything which he believed to be contrary to his duty or the public interest. But I did not know whether the arguments of Mr. Livingstone and more especially of Mr. McLane might not have wrought some change in his opinions.

He knew my opinions on the subject, and it seemed strange that he never mentioned it to me throughout the long discussion in the House. The animated opposition to the recharter procrastinated the final decision so long, that I was obliged to leave Washington for the Maryland Court of Appeals before the Bill passed. Finding from the course of the debate that this would certainly be the case, I determined to state in writing to the President my advice that he should meet the Bill with an open and direct veto, precluding all hopes of his assent at any time to the continuation of the Bank. Being a matter of so much importance, and one that had attracted so much public attention, I thought it not unlikely that he would call on the members of his Cabinet for their written opinions. But whether he did or not, it seemed to be my duty to lay before him my opinion together with the reasons on which it was founded. I knew that those whom I considered as the leading members of the Cabinet were in favor of the renewal, and although they might advise the President not to sign the Bill at that time when it was so unnecessarily pressed upon him, and pressed too in the most offensive manner, yet their advice as to the character of the veto, and the grounds proper to be taken in it, would naturally be influenced by their opinions in favor of the ultimate renewal. Indeed I do not know that any of the Cabinet except myself was opposed to it if brought forward at the proper time, and with some modifications. For although I had conversed with all of them upon the subject, they had not all expressed decided opinions. My own opinion was that the Bank was unconstitutional and inexpedient, and that it had abused its powers; was dangerous to the liberties of the country, and that the menacing and offensive manner in which the renewal was demanded, made it the more necessary that the President should meet it by a direct and decisive veto. It appeared to me that a veto which placed the objection

merely upon time, and evaded the direct issue, would be unworthy of him and would justly result in his overthrow.

I therefore prepared my opinion; making it as brief as I could for I had very little time to spare. It was finished the night before the day on which I was compelled by my business at Annapolis to leave Washington. In the morning before I left home I went to my office and placed the rough draft I had prepared in the hands of my clerk to be copied, with directions to deliver the copy to the President as soon as the Bill passed, and to preserve the original until I returned. It may be proper to remark that the official opinions of the Attorney General are all recorded in a book kept for that purpose in the office. But his opinion as a member of the Cabinet is never recorded, because it often happened that it was upon a subject upon which it would be improper at the moment to make public the opinion of the President or a member of his Cabinet.

After giving my opinion to my clerk I repaired to the President to take leave of him and to apprise him of what I had done. I found him alone. Being pressed for time I merely said to him that my impression was that the Bank Bill would certainly pass, and the question was one of such moment that it seemed to me to be the duty of each member of his Cabinet to present to him his views upon the subject, and that as I should be absent some weeks it would probably be acted upon before my return; that I had therefore prepared my opinion in writing and directed my clerk to make a fair copy and to lay it before him, and that when I returned I would sign the copy. He said he was obliged to me and would be glad to see it. I then said he would find in my opinion he ought to veto the Bill, but that I would not at that time trouble him with my reasons as he could see them briefly stated in the written opinion, and having said this I took my leave, and in a few minutes afterwards set out for Annapolis. This was all the conversation that passed between us, and he did not even then say what he intended to do. I take for granted that he thought I knew him well enough to be satisfied, that he had deliberately made up his mind against the Bank before he had on former occasions officially expressed it, and that having made up his opinion upon full consideration he would not be likely to change it, and would act upon it at all hazards. If I had remained longer with him I have no doubt that he would with his usual frankness, have told me without reserve what he thought upon the subject and what he proposed to do.

The Bill as I anticipated passed the House of Representatives and was presented to the President while I was yet at Annapolis. I think I had been there about a week when I saw by the newspapers that it had passed. Two days after its passage I received a letter from my friend Andrew Stevenson then Speaker of the House, urging me to return without delay. He was my intimate friend, and we had communicated freely with one another throughout this proceeding and concurred entirely in our opinions. He had the most remarkable tact in knowing the sense of the House upon any important question, before the vote was taken, no matter how close was the division. He seemed to me to know what every man was

thinking about while the debate was going on, and it was from him I had learned very early in the business that the Bill would certainly pass. In his letter to me he said the President is firm in his opposition, and we all know he cannot be moved from what he thinks right. But opposed as he is upon this question by the members of the Cabinet about him, he ought to have the support and assistance of the friends who think with him.

I did not however upon this letter think myself bound to leave the Court in which I was much engaged. I had performed my duty to the President and the country in putting before him my opinions and advice; and did not like to wear the appearance of seeking to make myself conspicuous in the struggle. I believed that if the President wished for my presence or my services he would say so; and if I hastened back without his request, it would seem to imply that I thought my presence necessary to support him in his measures or to influence his course. I had determined therefore to remain where I was.

But on the next day I received a note from the President couched in his usual kind terms merely saying, that if my business in Court could be so arranged that I could leave it without inconvenience he would be very glad to see me, as I would have seen by the newspapers that the Bank bill was before him. As soon as I received this note, I proceeded to make such a disposition of my business as would enable me to leave the court without injury to my clients; and on the next day returned to Washington.

I arrived there at night too late to see the President on business, as he was usually at that hour in his parlor receiving the social visits of friends. I called on him the next morning immediately after breakfast. He expressed much pleasure at seeing me, and said he hoped he had not put me to any inconvenience; but he had been placed in an embarrassing situation. That he had had my opinion, and that it concurred entirely with his own; that after the bill passed he had conferred with the other members of the cabinet, and listened to their arguments, but they had not changed his opinion, and that he had stated to them his determination to veto the bill, and the grounds upon which he meant to place it, and requested their assistance in preparing the veto. They all he said concurred in opinion that he ought not to sign the bill, but wished him to place the veto upon grounds that would leave it open to him to sign a bill for a recharter at a future session and were much opposed to his taking grounds which should shut the door against a renewal, as far as depended on him; and they offered to assist him in the preparation of the veto, if he would consent to put it upon grounds which they suggested and approved. This he positively refused to do, saying that he would not sign a veto placing it upon any other grounds that those upon which he acted; and that they had thereupon declined taking any part or to render him any assistance whatever in preparing it. That under these circumstances, as I was absent he had placed his decision and his reasons for it in the hands of Mr. Kendall [33] whose opinions coincided with his own: that he regretted the

[33] Amos Kendall, a member of President Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet," and Postmaster General, 1835-1837.

necessity of calling for the aid of any person out of his cabinet on such an occasion: but that Mr. Kendall had done it very well, although he thought it required some alterations and might be abbreviated: and that Mr. Donelson (his private Secretary) was then engaged in the room across the passage preparing it under his directions: that I knew the calls upon him were so incessant that he himself could never give more than a few minutes at a time to it: and said that if my other engagements would permit he would thank me to join Mr. Donelson and examine the whole document very carefully, and suggest such alterations as I should think advisable either in the argument or the style; adding that he would be glad to have it done as early as practicable, as he wished to send it in without delay. I told him I would lay aside other business until this was done; and immediately went into the room where Mr. Donelson was engaged; and proceeded to examine the draft that had been prepared.

I passed three days in this employment; the President frequently coming in; listening to the reading of different portions of it from time to time as it was drawn up, and to the observations and suggestions of Mr. Donelson and myself, and giving his own directions as to what should be inserted or omitted. The first day there was no one in the room but Mr. Donelson and myself, except the President and Mr. Earle [34]—It was the room which Mr. Earle who lived in the President's family, always occupied as his painting room. Mr. Earle however was all the time engaged in painting, taking no part in the preparation of the veto, and I believe not even hearing what was said. His tastes did not lie that way; and from the character of his mind and pursuits although highly respectable as an artist and pure & elevated as a man he was incapable of rendering any assistance in the preparation of such an instrument. Mr. Donelson told me when I came in that no member of the cabinet had been in the room or offered any aid to him, since Mr. Kendall's draft had been placed in his hands. I saw none of them the first day; and it is possible that none of them knew I had returned. For I did not go to my office, as I did not wish to be interrupted by other business. Upon the second day Mr. Woodbury came in, and took part in the work, and continued with us until it was completed, when a fair copy was made, which after being examined by the President and approved, and read in the cabinet, was transmitted to Congress. This is the history of my concern with the veto. I need not add that I cordially approved of it.

⟨The President was fortunate in his private Secretary, Mr. Donelson. He was frank and manly in his character—amiable in his temper—with excellent judgment—good taste—and a political sagacity and tact, not often to be found in a man at his time of life, and with his then brief experience in public affairs. He was the nephew of Mr. Jackson, and the President certainly loved and confided in him as if he was his son.⟩

The message [35] produced a great sensation not only in Congress but

[34] Ralph E. W. Earl.

[35] For the message see James D. Richardson (ed.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. II, pp. 576-591.

throughout the Union. It was I believe far bolder and more decisive in its tone, and more argumentative than the Bank and its friends had anticipated. It was sent in on the 11th of July 1832; and efforts were immediately made to counteract its effect on the public mind, by the vehement and angry and abusive speeches in congress in reply to it; predicting the most disastrous consequences to the country from the refusal to continue the charter.

But those who were opposed to the Bank hailed it with acclamation. It brought this subject before the people in a form that would certainly and strongly attract their attention. For Genl. Jackson possessed in an eminent degree the confidence and affections of the great majority of the American people. Everybody read his messages and his opinions exercised a powerful influence on the public judgment. The veto contained the leading facts and arguments against the Bank; and the question therefore was no longer in the hands of speculators and stockjobbers and corrupt or intriguing politicians, but would be investigated, considered and decided by the great body of the people of the U. S. who could have no other object in view but the promotion of the public good.

It is not my purpose to write the history of that election. It was warmly contested on both sides. I might say bitterly and fiercely by the Bank. When I speak of the Bank I of course mean its multitude of officers agents and presses, who were all, with a very few exceptions, under the influence of Mr. Biddle and governed by his directions. The election was for some time regarded as doubtful by many of the friends of General Jackson, and the friends of Mr. Clay were perfectly confident of success. Mr. Clay had a strong body of friends personally, and the manufacturers, now became a numerous body strongly supported him for the purpose of obtaining a high tariff. He had moreover in his favor that portion of the politicians of the old federal and democratic parties who favored latitudinous construction of the constitution of the U. States. And when to these elements of strength, the influence of the Bank was added there was indeed much reason to suppose that he must succeed. No man in the U. States but Genl Jackson could have defeated him. The majority in the Electoral College proved to be larger than either party expected: yet several of the States which voted for General Jackson were closely contested and pending the election were confidently claimed by the friends of Mr. Clay. Nor was that confidence lessened, nor the apprehensions of the friends of Genl. Jackson relieved, until the return of the election in Pennsylvania began to come in. There was a period I confess when I myself thought the issue doubtful, and looked with a good deal of anxiety for the news from Pennsylvania.

Perhaps if we had known all the preparations which the Bank had made for the conflict and the extent of its exertions during the canvass the apprehensions of many of us would have been stronger. It appeared afterwards that in the year immediately preceeding its petition for a renewal of its charter, that is, from the 30th of December 1830 to the 30th of December 1831, it had increased the loans and discounts from

$42,402,304.24 up to $63,026,652.93; and while its petition was actually pending too in Congress it added before the 1st of May, 1832, $7,401,-617.79 more to the sum last mentioned, making the whole amount $70,428,070.72. This was an increase of $28,025,766.48 in the short space of 16 months, being an extension of 66 per c. t. on its previous loans. I knew nothing of this when the veto was prepared, and have no reason to suppose it was then known to the President. As the returns were made by the Bank every two weeks to the Secretary of the Treasury it was of course known to Mr. McLane. But the circumstance it would seem did not attract his attention, or he did not think it necessary to communicate it. It came to my knowledge when the question of removing the deposites was agitated while Mr. Duane [36] was in the Department and the conduct of the Bank carefully examined in order to determine what the public interest then demanded.

How much of this increase was received by public men, or by others for political services we shall probably never know. For if the books of the Bank should ever see the light, they have been kept in a manner to perplex and mislead any inquirer who was not in its secrets. This appears by the reports of the committees of investigation appointed by the President and by Congress. But if the immense amount of money thus suddenly poured out, was not applied directly to corrupt purposes, yet it was sufficiently large to strengthen greatly the hold of the Bank upon the community and to enable Mr. Biddle and his friends to make the pressure and curtailment more extensively felt when pressure and curtailment should become his policy. This large sum was by no means the extent of the expansion which this operation produced. The Bank of the U. S. was the central and controlling power in the paper currency. Its impulses acted immediately upon the State Banks; and they expanded or curtailed according to its lead. And this expansion by the Bank of the U. S. produced its usual and necessary effect upon them. It suddenly flooded the country with paper money and paper capital which there was no increase of business and trade to justify; and consequently it engendered a spirit of speculation which made the trading community exceedingly sensitive to the curtailment which followed the veto. In this state of things the pressure policy was energetically resorted to by the Bank; and its balances rigidity exacted from the State Banks in order to compel them to refuse discounts and curtail their accommodations. And by this means Mr. Biddle succeeded in producing much distress and embarrassment in the cities, and ruined many enterprising men, who had been encouraged to enlarge their commercial operations by the abundance of money and the facility with which loans had been obtained while the Bank was so rapidly expanding. This class of persons are always and inevitably the first and the immediate victims of an unlooked for reduction of credits, and a pressure upon the money market. But the time between the veto and the election was too short to reach that large portion of the American people who are not accustomed in their business to rely on discounts at Banks. It

[36] William J. Duane, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury 1833.

was not long enough to affect seriously the prices of produce or the wages of labor. Yet the pressure was severe in the commercial cities, and the outcry was great in that class of persons who depend upon Bank accommodations to carry on their business. And as the distress followed after the veto it was imputed to the veto; and Genl. Jackson represented as responsible for the evils which Mr. Biddle himself was daily producing. Bold and profligate as this scheme was, it succeeded to a considerable extent. The politicians who opposed the reelection of Genl. Jackson, united with the agents of the Bank in making the charge. It had its effect in a greater or less degree in every state of the Union. For from our unfortunate system of Banking, many persons are to be found in every State, who owe money to a Bank which it is not convenient to pay—or expect to borrow from one to meet an engagement. And this Banking operation of Mr. Biddle undoubtedly deprived Genl. Jackson of thousands and tens of thousand votes, which would otherwise [have] been cast for him.

There was another operation going on during the same period of time of which the President and myself were equally ignorant, but which was not less formidable than the one above stated. It appears by the report of the government Directors in the Bank made to the President on the 19th of August 1833 that the ordinary annual expenses of the Bank up to the beginning of the year 1830 amounted to between seven and eight thousand dollars. But these expenses began to increase, after Genl. Jackson's first message to Congress at Dec. Session 1829, in which he took ground strongly against the renewal of the charter. In the year 1830 they rose to more than fourteen thousand dollars.—But soon after his second annual message, which was delivered at December session 1830, in which he reiterated his former objections, the plans of the Bank to defeat his reelection seem to have been matured, and their operations commenced in earnest. And in the beginning of 1831 when it began to swell its discounts, its expenses under the denomination of stationary and printing increased with equal rapidity. They amounted in 1831, to upwards of $43,000; and in 1832 to $38,678. of which last mentioned sum $26,543.72 were expended in the last six months, when the veto had been given and the election was pending. And without doubt the greater part of the $9,093.59 charged as expenses for stationery and printing in the first six months of 1833 when the election was over, was in fact to pay for services rendered in the election canvass, in the fall of the preceding year.

The report of the government directors before referred to shows the purposes for which this enormous expenditure was made.—Much of this money had been applied in such a manner as to baffle the examination of these Directors and to put it out of their power to discover to whom or for what particular purpose it had been paid. But the items mentioned in their report show the gigantic efforts which had secretly been made to obtain the control of the government by the defeat of Genl. Jackson. Large sums were paid for speeches and essays, eulogizing the Bank, and praising Mr. Biddle. Many thousand dollars were paid for printing and distributing ⟨*Mr. Websters speech which although made in his place in*

the Senate, was obviously in its tone temper and partizan character, the speech of counsel paid by the Bank, and of one too by no means scrupulous in his statements of facts. I do not know whether Mr. Webster received directly a fee from the Bank for this speech in the Senate—and I will not therefore assert that he did. But I do know certainly that while this struggle was going on, he was, under the name of fees for professional services and loans, receiving a princely income from the Bank—and that what was called loan was afterwards colorably paid by the transfer of property of trifling value and bearing no sort of proportion to his debt. This speech upon the face of it was made for distribution and to deceive the uninformed. And the same may be said both as to inducement and object of many of the speeches made on that occasion and which appear by this report to have been so extensively circulated.〉

In addition to the essays and speeches, large sums it appears were paid for anonymous publicity containing the grossest and coarsest libels upon the President Colo. Benton and other distinguished opponents of the Bank. And upon the order merely of Mr. Biddle, without disclosing the name of the person who received it or the service rendered: these payments were authorized, by a resolution of the Board passed early in March 1831, soon after the Bank had determined on its plan of operations by which Mr. Biddle was "empowered to cause to be prepared and circulated such documents and papers as may communicate to the people information in regard to the nature and operations of the Bank." This resolution was construed by Mr. Biddle and the board of Directors also, to make his order a sufficient voucher, and to dispense with the necessity of stating in the order either the name of the person he paid or the service rendered. This resolution as thus construed in effect placed the whole capital of the Bank in his hands, as a direct corruption fund to be used at his direction. But they could have afforded to sink it in struggle, to insure a renewal. They would have made money by it.

A great proportion of the sums paid for what was called printing and circulation, was paid to emissaries who were hired to travel from place to place and sometimes from house to house to distribute these various publications, in the neighborhoods to which they were supposed to be more peculiarly adapted. The states which were considered as doubtful and where it was therefore most important for the Bank to make exertions were flooded with them. And these emissaries usually performed the additional function of travelling orators adding their own assertions and statement and inventions to the contents of the documents they were distributing. Yet all of this was cool[l]y charged in the bank accounts as stationery and printing and withheld from the knowledge of the government Directors.

I do not now recollect in what form these expenses were charged in the accounts rendered to the Treasury Department, and have not the accounts at the time I am writing within my reach. Such an enormous increase in the charge for stationery and printing, amounting in the year 1831 and 1832 to more than $80,000. But this 〈*could hardly have reached*

the attention of Mr. McLane› undoubtedly escaped the attention of Mr. McLane who would hardly examine himself, the items of the bank accounts. For had he observed ‹*and it certainly was his duty had he observed it to call for an explanation—and to report to the President*› it he would without doubt have called for an explanation, and have reported it to the President. For independently of the circumstances that this large expense account, could not fail to awaken suspicions that the Bank was actively interfering in this election, the U. States owned one fifth of the Capital, and therefore paid one fifth of these expenses.—And the expediture of more than sixteen thousand dollars of the public money by the Bank, in abusing the first magistrate of the nation, could hardly be tolerated at the Treasury Department. The account returned may have charged this expenditure in such a way as not to attract the attention of the clerk in the Department whose duty it was to examine it. Certain however it is that it did not come to the knowledge of the President until the report of the Government Directors, of which I am speaking, and which was not made until August 1833. It was this abuse of its chartered privileges that decided the President to remove Mr. Duane if he would not remove the Deposites. And he made his decision as soon as these facts came to his knowledge, as will appear hereafter in this narrative, if I live to complete it.

The election over and Genl. Jackson elected for another term of four years commencing on the 4th of March, 1833, the question occurred whether any and if any what further step should be taken by the Executive in relation to the Bank. The issue had been made before the people by the Bank itself, and the people had decided against it. For they had not only reelected Genl. Jackson, but a very large majority of the new House of Representatives were elected on this same ground and pledged to vote against a renewal of the charter.

Another circumstance came to light soon after the election, showing still more strongly how little the Bank was to be relied on as a public agent. And it is proper to state it here, as it is noticed in the President's message of December 1832 and formed one of the grounds on which the removal of the Deposites was justified. In the spring of 1832 the government found itself in funds to pay off one half of the 3 percent stocks which were the remnant of the debt created by the war of the Revolution.—As the public money was in the Bank, and it was bound by its charter to perform the duties of the loan offices in relation to the public debt, the intention of the government was of course communicated to the Bank in order that it might make the proper arrangements. The notice to the President of the Bank was given in March, and he was informed that the usual advertisment would be made on the first of April and the payment made on the first of July.—Upon receiving this information he came on to Washington, and represented that the payment of so large a sum (between 6 and 7 millions) one half of which was due to foreign creditors, would increase the demand for remittance, and necessarily abridge the facilities which the Bank was accustomed afford to the importing

merchants, and might endanger the punctual payment of the revenue Bonds. Upon these grounds he suggested the propriety of postponing the time of payment, the Bank agreeing to pay the interest on this stock, on that the Treasury would sustain no loss from the delay. These propositions were finally embodied in a letter dated Bank of the U S but in fact written in Washington—and upon these representations the President agreed that the payment should be delayed until the 1st of October, the bank paying the interest.

In the July following this arrangement with Mr. Biddle the Secretary of the Treasury supposed he could pay two thirds of the three percents on the 5th of Octr. and the remainder on the 5th of January. Notice of this intention was given to Mr. Biddle on the 19th of July and the Advertisement appeared on the 20th. Before this letter was written, Mr. Biddle knowing that the Government would pay off at least the half of these stocks about the first of October, dispatched Genl. Cadwallader [37] to England to make an arrangement with the Barings by which five millions of this stock was to be held back until the 1st of October 1833, the Bank paying such interest as might be agreed on, from the time fixed for payment by the government. Genl. Cadwallader was one of the Directors of the Bank and the family connection and intimate friend of Mr. Biddle. The mission was intended to be a confidential one. And the plan of preventing the certificates from being presented for payment was kept secret from the officers of the government. But the Editor of the New York Evening Post obtained possession of a copy of the circular of the Barings making this proposition to the holders of the stock in behalf of the Bank and published it in his paper of the 11th of October. When Mr. Biddle found that the affair had become public and concealment no longer practicable, he wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury on the 15th of the month proposing to give a summary of what had been done and stating that the Bank had disavowed a portion of Genl. Cadwallader's arrangement, as not having been authorized by his instructions. The portion disavowed was that which authorized the Barings to purchase the stock for the Bank, and retain the certificates as his security. This purchase was undoubtedly a direct violation of the charter; and if authorized by the Bank would have subjected its charter to forfeiture. It hastened therefore to disavow it as soon as the circular of the Barings was made public. For it was then evident that the whole transaction must be investigated by the government. But it appeared afterwards very clearly that the Bank had been in possession of the contract made by Genl. Cadwallader some weeks before the publication in the Evening Post, and yet did not disavow any part of that contract to the Barings nor make any communication to the Treasury until concealment was no longer possible.

It is not my purpose in this narrative to go into a detailed statement of all the circumstances of this transaction, nor of the sort of indirect hostilities

[37] General Thomas Cadwalader, who served as a kind of roving ambassador for the Bank of the United States.

which it occasioned for a time between Mr. McLane and Mr. Biddle. All of the material facts are embodied and most ably examined in an article published in the Globe on the 1st of January, 1833, and which I propose to annex as an appendix to this narrative.

When this transaction came to the knowledge of the President he was exceedingly indignant.—For even admitting that the disavowal of any authority to purchase the stock for the use of the Bank was made in good faith and not wrung from the Bank by the publicity given to the affair by the publication of Baring's circular, yet enough was admitted by the Bank to show a gross violation of its duty to the public. For the object of the arrangement was to prevent the government from paying five millions of its debt; and to enable the Bank to keep so much of the public money for an entire year, for its own purposes, against the expressed orders of the Government. And to accomplish this object was secretly using the credit of the government for its own benefit not only without its consent but [in] violation of its positive directions. For while these certificates were thus held back the U. States continued liable to the holder for the principal amount due, and it was upon the faith of this liability that the Bank kept the public money for its own use and kept the U. States still liable to the stockholder. Taking this view of the subject the President brought it before his cabinet soon after the result of the election was ascertained, and requested our opinions whether a scire facias [38] ought not to be issued to forfeit the charter, or the public deposites be immediately removed. He was confidently of opinion that the Bank would prove insolvent and that the public money was not safe in its vaults. Mr. McLane was in favor of directing a scire facias to be issued to forfeit the charter. He was of opinion that the conduct of the Bank in relation to the 3 prcts, as well as its purchase of paper under the name of loans, and its interference in the recent election, were abuses and misuses of power that subjected its charter to forfeiture. That this proceeding would put an end to all further efforts to renew the charter, which would otherwise be continued and embarrass the government until the charter expired by its own limitations. That as to the safety of the deposites while the scire facias was pending, it would be proper to appoint an agent to examine into its condition, and that the President could better decide after his report whether the deposites ought or ought not to be removed.

I was opposed to issuing a scire facias and thought better to do nothing than adopt a measure of that kind. I said there were many things which we certainly knew in relation to the conduct of the Bank, and upon which the Executive might properly act, but which it would be difficult if not impossible to establish by legal proof in a court of Justice—and especially against an adversary so adroit and unscrupulous as the Bank had shown itself to be. Besides the case must be tried in Philadelphia, before a

[38] A scire facias was the type of judicial writ deemed appropriate for the kind of action here being considered. As used at this point and elsewhere in the manuscript the term is abbreviated, " sci. fa."

Philadelphia jury with all the leading counsel of that city retained as counsel for the Bank, and it would obviously be impossible to obtain a verdict against the Bank in a case where the trial from its very nature must last some weeks, and the jury during all that time exposed to the influences which the Bank would not scruple to exercise; and that such an excitement would be got up through the local press and otherwise in its favor that even honest and incorruptible men on the panel most probably would not have the firmness to withstand it. Moreover the Presiding Judge of the circuit court [39] was known to be warmly in favor of the renewal of the charter and held earnest and repeated conversations with me at my office, endeavoring to persuade me to advise the President not to veto the Bill; that although he was a very learned Judge and an upright and honest one, yet it was well known that he was a man of warm feelings and subject to painful and unfortunate excitement; that in some instances where his mind had been closely occupied for some time, upon subjects which he felt to be matters of great interest, this excitement had become actual insanity and that he had been compelled to absent himself for an entire term from the Supreme Court on that account; and that I should not be surprised if with his own preconceived opinions and his feelings upon this subject he should in his charge to the jury reply to the Presidents veto, and lecture him freely for his conduct in directing the scire facias. But apart from all these considerations there were many abuses of corporate privileges which would not in law amount to a forfeiture of the charter. And however faithless the Bank had been in the instances mentioned and however unfit on that account to be trusted or continued as a fiscal agent, it did not follow that it had forfeited its charter.

I further stated that in my opinion the deposites ought to be removed: that the conduct of the Bank in relation to the three per cents showed it to be in a state of much embarrassment, and might justify the removal upon doubts as to its ultimate solvency which the transaction certainly authorized: but that I did not put my advice upon this ground: that whether solvent or not, it had attempted by a secret arrangement to keep possession of the public money for an entire year for its own purposes against the orders of the government and that after such an act of infidelity it was no longer trustworthy, as the agent of the government and ought not to be continued as such; that its interference in politics and the elections, and the corrupt means which it was obviously resorting to obtain the renewal of its charter, was even still more objectionable: and as the possession of the public deposites increased the power it exercised for such improper and corrupt purposes, they ought to be withdrawn: that although the Bank was evidently much embarrassed, yet it would with its foreign connections be able to keep itself afloat if the public deposites were continued, until the next election of President was over; and it would

[39] Henry Baldwin, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who by virtue of his Supreme Court position was also the United States circuit judge in Pennsylvania.

continue to disturb the country by its struggle for a renewal, while the hope of obtaining it remained: that if the deposites were removed, another mode of collecting and disbursing the revenue must necessarily be adopted and the Bank would then be convinced that its charter would not be continued and would proceed in good faith to wind up its concerns: That the petition for the recharter admitted that if the charter was not to be renewed it was time to begin to close its affairs: that the recent elections had decided against its continuance and it was time according to the statement of the bank itself to begin the work of winding up the concerns: that in my opinion the Bank would not proceed to close its affairs, unless coerced by the Government but would expand again and prepare for another contest at the next election of President if some other fiscal agent was not appointed thereby closing the door against the renewal of the charter.

Mr. McLane strongly resisted the removal of the deposites and pressed the issuing of a scire facias. He said that the present congress had passed the bill for the recharter of the Bank and would most probably pass a law directing the deposites to be restored if they were removed by order of the Treasury Department. That he was of course prepared to adopt such measures as the President should determine upon; that he believed the Bank was much embarrassed and that it might become proper to remove the deposites as a measure of safety. But unless this was proved to be the case, this Congress would not sanction it; that no other depository was appointed by law, and as matters now stood if they were removed the executive must take the responsibility of selecting the depository, and if any loss was sustained or difficulties experienced in collecting or disbursing the revenue the President would be answerable for it:—And a public clamor might be excited against the administration which would impair its usefulness to the country, and embarrass its operations: that public opinion was now decidedly in favor of the President in the controversy with the Bank; but if in the present excitement of the public mind he removed the deposites, it would be represented as unnecessary; and as done under the influence of resentment and might perhaps change the current of public feeling: that our difficulties with South Carolina were becoming daily more threatening and was important to avoid any other conflict which might weaken the strength of the Executive or divide its friends: that the whole country would approve the issuing of the scire facias. It would show the world that the President in his course toward the Bank had not as unjustly imputed to him, been actuated by any feelings of personal dislike or hostility and that he was willing to refer the matter to the Judiciary as soon as the question assumed a shape, upon which a judicial tribunal could act. The Executive ought not to be influenced in its course by any suspicion that a Judicial tribunal would not do its duty; that the evidence of the misconduct of the Bank could no doubt be obtained, and if produced the court and jury must be governed by it: and the decision of the court vacating the charter, would fully vindicate all that he had done, and put an end to all further attempts to renew the charter.

In reply to this I said that [as] to an examination of the Bank to determine whether it was safe or not I set very little value upon it. The books and accounts of a Bank would often shew it to be in a flourishing condition, when it was actually insolvent: that as to the restoration of the Deposites by congress, I did not think it would be attempted in the face of so gross a violation of duty as that committed by the Banks in the case of the 3 per cts. But if attempted it could be averted by a veto as the charter was; and that in the present state of the public mind in relation to the Bank I had no doubt a veto upon such a proposition would be supported firmly; and would indeed by received with real pleasure by a vast majority of the people of the U. States; that as to what I had said about issue of a scire facias in Philadelphia it was no reproach to the judiciary nor to the tribunal of which I spoke: that as concerned the Jury, the possibility and even probability that a party may not be able in certain cases to obtain justice before a Jury of the place where a suit is brought is universally admitted by Jurists: and in every country I believed where the common law prevailed provision was made for changing the venue, and sending the case for trial to some other place, beyond the improper influences which it was supposed would sway the Jury in the case where it was pending. In Maryland this right of changing the venue upon this ground was secured to the party by the constitution of the state. But the scire facias against the Bank must be tried in Philadelphia, and there was no power of removal under the charter. That as regarded the court, what I said was no impeachment of the judiciary, nor of the judge who presided in that court: that his unhappy temperament was his misfortune rather than his fault; that delicacy toward him would of course prevent the President as well as the members of his cabinet from recognizing this as a reason, publicly, for not resorting to a scire facias. But as we all knew it, it would hardly be the part of wisdom to shut our eyes to so material a fact, and to proceed as if we thought the fact to be otherwise.

The President after hearing what we had to say observed that it was an important subject; that he wished us all to think of it; and would call our attention to it again at a future time.

PLACE NAMES OF BALTIMORE AND HARFORD COUNTIES

(*Continued from March*)

By William B. Marye

The Horse Ponds (Fork of Gunpowder River)

THE Horse Ponds is the name of a place, originally a number of acres in extent, situated about 500 yards west of a point about midway between Quinlin's Corner and Mount Vista, on the road connecting the Bel Air Road with the Harford Road. This land was at one time (before 1850) a part of the Perry Hall estate.[1] In my day the Horse Ponds lay back in what was called Hayes's Woods.[2] The "ponds," from which the place took its name, were shallow depressions in the ground, which filled with water in wet weather, particularly in winter. In 1913, I was informed by an old inhabitant of this neighborhood, that, after the cutting down of Hayes's Woods,[3] the Horse Ponds tended to dry up. Coarse grasses grew on the beds of these ponds.

The name of the Horse Ponds is one which, undoubtedly, goes back to early colonial times and is reminiscent of very primitive, wilderness conditions. It may be ascribed to the fact that there, at the Horse Ponds, herds of wild horses resorted, in order to graze. There the county rangers may have captured and branded the wild steeds.

Testifying, in 1732, before a commission held to determine the

[1] The Gough-Carroll estate. The first owner was Harry Dorsey Gough and the last of the family, Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll. Upwards of 1000 acres of this estate were situated on the west side of the Great Gunpowder Falls, and 1125 acres on the east side.

[2] 27 Feb., 1850, H. D. G. Carroll conveyed to James Hayes, 568½ acres, parts of "Heathcoat's Cottage" and "Thompson's Choice." (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber A. W. B. No. 412, f. 450.) The Horse Ponds lay, principally, on "Thompson's Choice."

[3] The author well recalls circumstances attending this depressing event, which occurred about 1894. Great logs (mostly white oak), which bore witness to a venerable stand of timber, were hauled down the Joppa Road, and piled up in the station yard at Bradshaw, awaiting shipment.

bounds of a tract of land called "Heathcoat's Cottage," [4] John Greer, aged 47, proved the second bounded tree of this land, standing "on the north side of the Horse Ponds." At the same time John Roberts alias Campbell, aged 41 years, proved the same bounded tree, and stated that "*he has known the place generally called the Horse Ponds near thirty years* and they lay a small distance to the southward of the said bounded red oak." [5]

In the year 1769 a land commission was held on behalf of Colonel William Young to prove the bounds of a tract called "Sewell's Fancy," which depended on the bounds of "Heathcoat's Cottage," at which time Moses Greer, aged 54, testified that "between thirty and forty years ago this deponent was informed by his father John Greer that a bounded black oak where we now stand standing on a ridge about three hundred yards from a place called the Horse Ponds was the second tree of a tract of land called Heathcoats Cottage." [6]

The late Stephen Haven Wilson, of "The Tuileries," near Kingsville, told the author, in 1913, that he well remembered when the Horse Ponds was the resort of great flocks of wild pigeons, which arrived there in March, and returned again in September. Mr. Wilson was born in this neighborhood in 1835. The late Mr. Edward Augustus Day told me that his father, William Young Day (1799-1879), of "Taylor's Mount," used to shoot wild pigeons at the Horse Ponds. The place was visited by Baltimore sportsmen, who went there to shoot pigeons. Mr. Wilson directed me to the following account of such an excursion, published in Skinner's *American Turf and Sporting Magazine* for 1830: [7]

The writer of this contribution, who signs himself "A," relates that with a companion, Mr. "E. J. P.," he started out (most probably fom Baltimore) on the night of October 11th, 1829, at nine o'clock, "for the neighborhood of what is called the Horse Ponds, an extensive body of land belonging to the 'Perry Hall" estate."

[4] The author has given to this society a plat which he has made, showing early surveys, mostly seventeenth century, in the Fork of Gunpowder River, below the Harford Road. Thereon the reader will find "Heathcoat's Cottage." It lies althwart the Bel Air road, and includes the lower reaches of Broad Run.

[5] Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 2, f. 144 et seq.

[6] Baltimore County Land Records, Liber A. L. No. B., folios 306-314.

[7] "Pigeon Shooting," *American Turf and Sporting Magazine*, I (Oct., 1829), 84-85.

He goes on to say: " Our object in starting out at night was to enable us to be upon the shooting grounds by day light, so that we might take advantage of the first flight of the birds from their roosting place to their feeding. We had been there on the Thursday previous; but having arrived too late to catch them before they fed, we were determined to be early enough on this occasion. We reached Mr. Burton's tavern on the Bell-Air Road (Harford Road) a mile and a half beyond the Copper factory (Harford Road and Great Gunpowder Falls) about one o'clock." Alas for their expectations: " the pigeons had, the previous day, winged their flight to some more congenial soil; for with the exception of a few stragglers, who had evidently deserted from the main body and these not exceeding fifteen or twenty, none came to the ' Horse Ponds.' Of these we got eight, which with a few robins and jays formed the entire spoils of our day's sport, for notwithstanding our ill success, I esteemed it a day of sport."

Bradshaw

The post-office and the loose-jointed settlement called Bradshaw owe their name to a station on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, which was abandoned by the railroad a number of years ago, and pulled down not many years since. The line between Baltimore and Philadelphia was completed in 1886.[8] Passenger and freight service on the B. & O. between these points was opened in that year. It is reasonable to suppose that Bradshaw Station was erected in 1886. After that, people living in my neighborhood, who had occasion to go to Baltimore, were no longer under the necessity of driving five or six miles to Magnolia on the P. W. & B.[9]

It must be admitted, however, that in those days many of my neighbors seldom, if ever, went to town. When those stay-at-homes did go to Baltimore, they got as far as Lauer's department store on Broadway; after which, conscious of their countryfied appearance, they got confused, and went home to the country with a feeling of great relief.

I remember being told in the days of my youth that Bradshaw was named for an official of the B. & O. Railroad; but I have no

[8] Edward Hungerford, *The Story of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, 1827-1927* (New York and London, 1928), p. 155.

[9] The Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad.

record of such a person. An explanation which is, perhaps, a better one, is the following: Bradshaw Station was built on an ancient tract of land called "Windley's Forrest." [10] In the year 1717 one John Bradshaw purchased of Edward Ward one half of "Windley's Forrest," which he sold, in 1740, to Stephen Onion, the iron master.[11] Title searchers for the railroad unearthed these facts; hence the station's name.

Tournaments used to be held at Bradshaw in Col. B. F. Taylor's field, part of "Mount Peru," on the far side of the railroad tracks. I recall one of these events, which took place more than fifty years ago, when the late Mr. "Fred" Raphel, of "Fontenai," [12] near Upper Falls, acted as Marshall of Ceremonies. He was well mounted and wore a costume of "When Knighthood was in Flower." The Queen of Love and Beauty was crowned in a pavillion in Douglas Park, an abortive amusement place laid out by Colonel Taylor, on the Little Gunpowder Falls, between Bradshaw and the old Philadelphia Road. Old Dr. Gorsuch, of Fork, delivered the "coronation address." The old people used to say they recalled the time when tournaments, as regards the riders or "knights," were very exclusive affairs; but the Catholic Church took them over and made them democratic.

The advent of the railroad brought many summer visitors and boarders to our part of Baltimore County. Loreley was laid out in the 1890's, but failed to prosper and grow. The Fifth Regiment camped out at the Big Mills, across the Big Falls of Gunpowder from Loreley (I remember the event), and the boys got typhoid fever. This gave the place "a black eye." In my immediate

[10] Surveyed for Richard Windley, 22 August, 1667. He gave his name to Windley's Run, which empties into Bird River on its eastern side. This name has been corrupted into *Windlass* Run.

[11] Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T. R. No. A., f. 520; Liber H. W. S. No. 1. A., f. 470. There is no mention of a Bradshaw in Hungerford, *op. cit.*

[12] Eugene Fressenjat Raphel (6 Oct., 1845-16 March, 1907). His father was Stephen J. Raphel, born in the island of St. Lucie, [St. Lucia] Windward Islands, 23 Feb., 1790; died in Baltimore County, 29 Jan., 1872, who was brought to this country by his parents, ca. 1792. In 1836 he purchased of Munnikhuysen 250 acres near McCubbinsville (now Upper Falls), which he called "Fontenai" (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T. H. Bo. 258. f. 312). He married, 31 May, 1834, Mary Anne Mackatee (1807-1893), of Harford County. Their son, Mr. E. F. Raphel above mentioned, married Jeanette S. Braden, of Virginia (d. Nov. 21, 1914). For this information I am indebted to my old neighbor, their son, Mr. A. Alexis Raphel (see Raphel Genelogical Notes and Chart, Md. Hist. Society). For further information about the Raphels see under "Elk Neck." The road, appropriately named by the State Roads Commission "Raphel road," takes its name from this family.

neighborhood Mrs. S. Haven Wilson's boarding house, "The Tuileries" (the home of the Kings[13]) attracted members of the "nicest" Baltimore families. These commuters were all to be seen at Bradshaw Station on week days, morning and evening, in summer.[14] At "The Tuileries" the boarders found an excellent table and a groaning board, comfortable rooms and delightful hosts, all for six dollars a week. The place itself was charming. What simple pleasures were to be enjoyed there by the boarders, while saving up, in order to bring out a daughter at the next Monday German, may be gathered from the following incident: among them was an impecunious young buck, who was sitting one day on a bench by the Joppa Road, at the foot of the garden walk, when a man came up the road, leading an old, broken down horse, of dejected mien. The young man hailed him with: "Where are you taking that horse?" "To Record's," was the answer (meaning, to the Record's bone-meal factory, on the Little Falls, at the Harford Road). "I'll give you two dollars for him," said the young man. The offer was accepted, and that horse was the young man's mount for the balance of the summer.

I scarcely believe it will give offense, if I should say that around the turn of the century the ranking commuter who was to be seen at Bradshaw station, was the Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte (1851-1921), one time Secretary of the Navy, later Attorney General of the United States, and grandson of a king. Mr. Bonaparte drove to Bradshaw (in a victoria, in fair weather), from his estate, "Bella Vista," on the Harford Road. He used a string of well matched horses, raised on the farm, which were taught to trot at an equal pace, up hill and down dale, and were seldom seen to walk. Mr. Bonaparte was a man of amiable mannerisms, which were taken off to perfection by the late J. Alexis Shriver.[15] At

[13] Mrs. S. Haven Wilson, of "The Tuileries" (1838-1926), was Miss Mary Eliza King, daughter of Dr. David King and Mary Eliza (Blair) King, and granddaughter of Abraham and Elizabeth (Taylor) King, Abraham King gave his name to Kingsville (g. v.).

[14] Boarders from Baltimore at "The Tuileries" in the 1890's included the following Baltimoreans of the best social standing: The R. Steuart Latrobes, whose son, Osman, later distinguished himself in the Army; the William Carter Pages, the Benjamin Corners; the George V. S. Longcopes, whose son, Warfield Theobald, made a name for himself in medicine; the Cavendish Darrells; Mr. Clarence Seemuller. About 1900 came here from Baltimore Mr. John Christopher Taliaferro, successful industrialist and inventor, with his family. He purchased from the S. Haven Wilsons "Sycamore Hill," on which, some years later, he built a house, which is still standing.

[15] The late J. Alexis Shriver, of "Olney," Harford County, was Director of

Bradshaw, waiting for his train, he, customarily, walked the platform alone, gesticulating and talking to himself. It was understood that he was rehearsing a speech, which he was to deliver that day. His holding himself aloof was due to preoccupation, not to a spirit of exclusiveness, for he was a charming man.

Kingsville

My memory of Kingsville goes back to about 1890. The Kingsvillains, who are now so numerous, and mostly strangers to me, were then few. The place had half a dozen dwelling houses, a store (Dilworth's), a blacksmith's shop, and a church (*old* St. John's). Kingsville was set in the midst of a lovely countryside, whose rural charm, at least from my point of view, is gone for good and all, a result of suburbanization. The local streams were clean and full of fish (Broad Run was a very good trout stream).[16] Over all there reigned a peace the like of which we, the natives, shall never know again.

Kingsville takes its name from Abraham King, who died there 15th December, 1836, at the age of seventy-six.[17] He was a native of Pennsylvania, and came from Willistown in Chester County. He was probably descended from Michael King, or Koenig (1714-1790), of that county, a native of Wittenberg, Germany.[18] His wife was Elizabeth Taylor, a sister of the Hon. John Taylor, of Willistown, who settled in the West and was for a number of years Chief Judge of the Superior Court of Mississippi.[19] Mr.

Historic Markers for Maryland and Corresponding Secretary of the Maryland Historical Society.

[16] About 1900 I caught an 11-inch trout in a pool a few yards above the Bel Air Road bridge in Broad Run. That section of the run which lies between the Bel Air Road and the road going from Quinlin's Corner to what is now called "Raphel Road," was the best part in which to angle for trout. Strange to say, there were few trout in the lower reaches of this stream, where there are beautiful cascades and deep pools.

[17] Dielman File, "The Morgue," Md. Hist. Society.

[18] J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pa.* (Philadelphia, 1881), pp. 623-624. I have heard a member of the King family of Kingsville say that the name was Koenig. From family papers I judge that Abraham King was the son of George and Catherine King, of Willistown, Pa. According to Futher and Cope, George King, grandson of Michael King, married Catherine, daughter of Isaac Smith, and had, among others, a son named Abraham.

[19] Furthey and Cope, *op. cit.*, p. 739. King Family Papers, bequeathed to the Md. Hist. Society by the late Mrs. Laura (Reeves) Harris-Parsons, a Reeves, of Philadelphia, wife of the late Rear Admiral Archibald Livingston Parsons. Her mother was Miss "Becky," King, daughter of Dr. David and Mrs. Mary Eliza (Blair) King, of "The Tuileries," Kingsville.

King acquired some 290 acres of land in and about the site of Kingsville in 1814.[20] He lived in the old Hugh Deane-John Paul mansion, now the Kingsville Inn.[21] After his death two of his sons, George King and Dr. David King,[22] continued to reside there for a while.

There was a Kingsville Post Office by 1831.[23]

In my younger days that stretch of the Bel Air Road, which lies between Kingsville and Benson, was always called the Black Gap Road. The first improved road in the neighborhood was that section of the old Joppa Road lying between Kingsville and Fork. Known locally as Feather Bed Lane, it was taken as an example and macadamized at the expense of the federal government, about 1894, and called The Model Road. Members of my family used to drive up and down it just for the sensation of driving on a good road, and because it was easy on the carriages. About 1902 the Joppa Road between Fork and the Philadelphia Road, at Whitten's Corner, Bradshaw,[24] got the name of Sunshine Avenue. It sounded, as it were, the first suburban note in that

[20] King Family Papers: a bond, dated 10 Oct., 1814, consideration $11,500.00, from Thomas Kell to Abraham King, for the conveyance of 290 acres of land, parts of "Leafe's Chance," "William the Conqueror," "Selby's Hope," "John's Delight" and "Onion's Prospect Hills." Only two original surveys are involved, vizt, "Leafe's Chance" and "William the Conqueror." This bond recites that the lands to be conveyed "compose the present dwelling plantation and farm of the said King."

[21] See the interesting *History of the Kingsville Inn*, by H. L. Le Compte, Jr., reprinted from *Harford County Directory, 1953*.

[22] There was another son, John, who died in Mississippi, and a daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Amos, of Harford County. George King died a bachelor. David King (born in Pennsylvania, June 1, 1800; died Jan. 18, 1874) took his degree in medicine at the University of Maryland (Eugene Fauntleray Cordell, *Medical Annals of Maryland* [Baltimore, 1903]). He married Eliza M. Blair, (1813-1857), daughter of James Blair, of Baltimore, and his wife, Eliza Gibson, daughter of John Lee Gibson, a prominent citizen of Harford County. They had a numerous family. Two daughters, Adele Maud and Adolphine, married Dr. J. Holmes Smith, Sr., Professor of Anatomy, U. of Md. Three daughters entered convents. Laura King married, as his third wife. Dr. David Sterett Gittings, of "Roslyn," near Upper Falls, (1797-1887), this author's grandfather, upon whose death she "took the Veil." The Kings owned Charmony Hall (q. v.), at the head of Gunpowder River, and considerable land at the foot of Gunpowder Neck.

[23] Among the King Papers is a letter, dated West Chester (Pa.), May 5, 1831, from William Worthington to George King, Esq., to the care of the "p. master at Kingsville P. office Baltimore County Maryland." Mr. Worthington was the son of Amos Worthington, whose wife was a sister of Mrs. Abraham King.

[24] In my younger days the tavern at this place was kept by Isaac Tyson, and the place called Tyson's Corner. His heirs sold it to William Whitten, station agent at Bradshaw, who thereafter kept the tavern.

hitherto purely rural part of Maryland.[25] It was the monster, Baltimore, still far away, threatening our peace.

Grupy's Hollow

The hill on the Bel Air Road, which the traveller climbs after crossing Broad Run and just before arriving at the Kingsville Inn, is Grupy's Hill, and the hollow on the left, between the run and the hill, is Grupy's Hollow. Francis Grupy, of Harford County, bought a small piece of land there in 1823.[26] He operated a tanyard. He died in 1849, at the age of eighty-seven.[27] The little old stone buildings in the hollow date, ostensibly, from the Grupys. The Grupys were gone by 1877,[28] and the name was no longer extant in the neighborhood in my day. One of these Grupy's was murdered in Grupy's Hollow. Several are buried in the churchyard at Kingsville.

Oliver's Point and Harewood

Robert Oliver (d. 1834), the Baltimore merchant prince, who was of Protestant Irish birth and parentage, gave his name to Oliver's (or Oliver) Point, Gunpowder River. This point lies a mile below the southern end of the Pennsylvania Railroad bridge, opposite to the bay, which we call Frenchman's Bay, or Frenchman's Hollow, of which more presently. The name which Oliver bestowed on this point is still employed, but the ancient name—Surveyor's Point—lingered in use until long after Mr. Oliver's death.[29] "Harewood" was the name by which Robert Oliver

[25] As I recall very clearly, the name goes back to a sign which suddenly appeared one day on my family property, on the site of the Kingsville Bank. It bore a hand, or an arrow, pointing up the Joppa Road, and the legend: "This is Sunshine Avenue. Reckord's three miles." It was taken up almost immediately.

[26] Baltimore County Land Records, Deed, 3 March, 1823, Jesse McKistry to Francis Grupy, of Harford County, 9 acres and 80 perches, part of "William the Conqueror." Mention of Broad Run.

[27] Dielman File, Maryland Historical Society.

[28] On Hopkins' Atlas of Baltimore County, Eleventh District, 1877, the name of the owner is Bell. The Bells were there in my time. Robert Taylor's map of Baltimore County, 1857, shows the tannery and the house of T. H. Grupy.

[29] A map styled "Map of the Baltimore and Port Deposit Rail Road as Located to a point near Havre de Grace," drawn by H. R. Hazlehurst, 1836, has the names Harewood and Surveyor's Point. Robert Taylor's Map of Baltimore County, 1857, has Surveyor's Point. Martinet's Map of Harford County, Md., 1878, has Oliver's Point. Surveyor's Point was occasionally called Collett's Point. "Hap Hazard," surveyed for John Bevin, May 11, 1683, is described as situated between the land called "Herods [*sic.*]Lyon" and "the land called Colletts." "Daniellstown,"

called his shooting box and the landed estate of over one thousand acres, which extended from Oliver Point to the mouth of Bird River; and up that river to the first cove or creek. Where did he get this name? Most probably from the name of one of the original surveys of which "Harewood" was composed—"Harwood's Lyon," which was taken up in 1664 by Thomas Harwood and remained in his family for over a hundred years.[30] Beyond a doubt this land was named for the Ship Golden Lyon, of London, of which Thomas Harwood was master.[31] In the time of the Harwoods "The Lyon" appears to have been nothing more than a "quarter." Not a quarter, but a seat or dwelling place of, a family was "Surveyor's Point," 500 acres, surveyed for George Goldsmith, or Gouldsmith, 26 March, 1666, which remained in the possession of his descendants for over a hundred and fifty years. From these descendants, the Presburys, Mr. Oliver got his title, in 1818.[32] The last Presbury of "Surveyor's Point," George

surveyed for John Waterton, 20 Sept., 1667, lies "on the west side of Gunpowder River, near a point called Collets Point." Depositions were taken, 2 July, 1743, on behalf of George Presbury on the land called "Surveyor's Point," also known as "Goldsmith's Land or Collets," at which time Benjamin Legoe, aet. 69, testified that he had known the point called Collets Point for 35 years (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Land Commissions, Liber H.W.S. No. 4, f. 82.). John Collett, of Baltimore County, was a brother-in-law of George Goldsmith; but how he gave his name to this point is not clear.

[30] Under the name of "The Lyon" this land, 300 acres, was laid out for Capt. Thomas Harwood, of London, mariner, 19 Nov., 1664. It lies on Gunpowder River, at the mouth of Bird River. Adjoining it, on Bird River, lies "Black Woolfe Neck," surveyed for Richard Farrendall, in 1667. Thomas Harwood of Anne Arundel County, Md., sold "The Lyon" and part of "Hap Hazard" to William Andrew, Dec. 19, 1771 (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber A.L. No. D). James Johnson et al. sold to Robert and John Oliver, 29 Aug., 1818, (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. 147, f. 44.) 380 acres, parts of "The Lyon," "Hap Hazard" and "Presbury's Discovery." Robert and John Oliver bought of Charles Crook and others, 193½ acres, "Black Woolf Neck," 21 Nov., 1818, adjoining "the Lyon" or "Harwoods Lyon" (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. 143, f. 570). The same year Robert Oliver leased between 80 and 90 acres of "Black Woolfe Neck" of John Seddon (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W.G. No. 148, f. 558). These purchases and lease, together with "Surveyor's Point," made up the Oliver estate, "Harewood," of which Robert Oliver became sole owner, after the death of his brother.

[31] *Md. Archives*, XLI, p. 206.

[32] George Goldsmith died late in 1666, leaving "Surveyor's Point" to his son, George, who married Martha Beedle, and died in 1692, leaving a daughter, Martha, who married, Feb. 26, 1708, Joseph Presbury (his first wife). They resided on "Elk Neck" (q.v.), an estate which they inherited from the Goldsmiths. George Presbury, their son, was born Aug. 18, 1710, and died 15 Feb., 1785. By his will (Archer Papers, Harford County Historical Society"), he left all his lands on the west side of Gunpowder River to his son, George Gouldsmith Presbury. These lands amounted to about 1000 acres, all in one tract and were patented to George

Gouldsmith Presbury, the third, (1783-1863), was the great-great grandfather of the Duchess of Windsor, on her mother's side.

The reputation of this short-lived estate, "Harewood"—and it did enjoy a certain fame in its day—was chiefly because of its deer park. At the time when this rarity was set up, the native deer had died out in that part of Baltimore county. Deer parks were probably always a rarity in America. The Tayloes had one at "Mount Airy," the site of which is still shown to visitors. Writing his impressions of America about 1798, Richard Parkinson, the English agriculturist, says that deer parks were "very rare" and that he had seen only two, vizt, that of Colonel Mercer (in Virginia?) and that of Edward Lloyd, Esq., at Why-House (Wye House, in Talbot County, Maryland). He pays Mr. Lloyd a tribute, saying that his land (about thirteen thousand acres) "appeared the best I have seen," his house and gardens "elegant"; but of his deer park of about fifty acres he has nothing good to say.[33] Of the Harewood deer-park there are several accounts. Tyrone Power, the noted Irish actor, was a guest of Mr. Oliver at "Harewood," in 1835, shortly before Mr. Oliver's death.[34] The dwelling house at "Harewood" he found to be "a plain sporting lodge."[35] "It is well situated upon a gentle eminence overlooking a couple of reaches of Gunpowder River. On the land side the deer-park spreads away to the forest, being

Gouldsmith Presbury, 27 May, 1787. Mr. Presbury was born, May 1, 1737, and died in Baltimore, Jan. 16, 1822. He was a Judge of the Orphans' Court and otherwise a prominent man. He married, 1756, Elizabeth Tolley (1736-1783). Their son, George Gouldsmith Presbury, (born in 1759; died Oct. 3, 1812, aet. 50) married, May 28, 1783, Priscilla Lee, of Harford County. Their son, George Gouldsmith Presbury, born 1784, married, in 1809, Sarah (Howard) Bussey, daughter of Thomas Gassaway Howard and Frances (Holland) Howard, of Baltimore County. He died 9 Aug., 1863. He was known as George G. Presbury, 3rd. On Oct. 8, 1817, he advertised for sale, in the Baltimore American, "Surveyor's Point," 500 acres, on Gunpowder River. On Aug. 31, 1818, James Mosher, George Gouldsmith Presbury, the third, and George Gouldsmith Presbury, the elder, deeded to Robert Oliver and to John Oliver (his brother), 494¾ acres, "Surveyor's Point Resurveyed" (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 147, f. 41).

[33] Richard Parkinson, *A Tour in America in 1798, 1799, 1800* (London, 1805), I, 221.

[34] Tyrone Power, Esq., *Impressions of America, during the Years 1833, 1834 and 1835* (London, 1836), II, 65, 66. I learned of this account of "Harewood" from the late J. Hall Pleasants.

[35] I think it not unlikely that it was in this same dwelling house that the J. Hemsley Johnsons, of Baltimore, resided, when they owned "Harewood," and that it was there they dispensed such delightful hospitality upwards of forty years ago.

divided from the land by an invisible fence." As we might well have imagined, Mr. Oliver had trouble with poachers, who were either "the neighbouring farmers (not my relatives, I trust) or boatmen from the river." According to Power, his stock of deer amounted to four hundred head. There is a picture of the deer park at Harewood in Skinner's *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* for 1830.[36] We see a large field, bare of trees, in the middle of which is a sick or wounded deer. In the middle distance we behold one of the "lofty deer fences" mentioned by Mr. Power, reinforced by the blackthorne hedge, which he also mentions. Far away is the sporting lodge and farther still Gunpowder River. The editor of the magazine has added a note about the deer-park, which gives the following information: 200 head of deer were "sometimes to be seen at a single view." "From these one of the largest bucks is annually selected and sent to Doughregan Manor, for the birthday dinner." "The park is so extensive, the woods so deep and impenetrable, and the food so abundant that it is by no means an easy matter to pick out and kill the best of the herd." (Let us hope that these sportsmen did not pick out each other.) A letter to the editor informs us that the park contained some 300 acres, and 200 deer. A contributor to the same magazine,[37] under date of March 14, 1834, avers that he has seen, within the deer park at Harewood, 250 deer "browsing in a beautiful field of as many acres." His contribution is headed, "A Day's Sport at Harewood." The appraisers of the estate of Robert Oliver estimated the number of deer at Harewood at "about 300," and valued the herd at $1.00 apiece.[38] History seems to be silent as to what became of these unfortunate deer. Perhaps there was a terrible slaughter.

Elk Neck and Quiet Lodge Farm

The farm with the pleasant name of Quiet Lodge, situated on Gunpowder River, in Gunpowder Neck, between Canal Creek and Wright's Creek, was owned by but three family groups in

[36] "Sports at Harewood," *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, II (Nov. 1830), 106, opposite 30, 130. The picture is identified as follows: "Engraved for *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, by J. Cone, from an Original drawing."

[37] "A Day's Sport at Harewood," *ibid.*, V (April, 1834), 429.

[38] Inventories, Baltimore City and County, Vol. XLIV, f. 425.

all its long history, 1663-1917: [39] The Presbury family (including their ancestors, the Goldsmiths, and their near relatives, the Colletts); the Raphels; and the Cadwaladers. The land fronting on the river between these two creeks was laid out for John Collett, the elder, July 23, 1663, and called "Elk Neck." It was resurveyed for him, 20 October, 1667, under the same name. The resurvey calls for Elk Neck Creek [40] (Canal Creek) and Deep Creek (Wright's Creek).[41] "Elk Neck" was resurveyed in 1719 for James and Martha (Goldsmith) Presbury and John, their son, and found to contain 410 acres. Collett left this land by will, 26 March, 1673, to his near relative, Mathew Goldsmith, who died s. p., whereupon it came into the possession of his "cousin" (i. e., nephew) George Goldsmith, the younger (d. 1692), who had two daughters, Mary and Martha. The former deeded away her rights to her sister's son. Martha married James Presbury.[42]

James Presbury is said to have come to Maryland from London and to have been a man of good connections.[43] He was High Sheriff of Baltimore County in 1710 and died in 1746. In 1750 his son, George, owned 1530 acres in Baltimore County.[44] It was he, in all probability, who built the curious, little old "mansion" called Quiet Lodge, which, I believe, is still standing. It was lately Officers' Quarters for Fort Hoyle. Incised (or moulded?) in the bricks of the west wall of this house are dates of birth of a

[39] In 1917 virtually the whole of Gunpowder Neck was taken over by the Government, and is now the seat of the Edgewood Arsenal.

[40] Also called Elk Creek. In 1683 Michael Judd was building a shallop in Elk Creek (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, November Court, 1683). The original survey and the resurvey of "Elk Neck" are recorded at the Land Office of Maryland in Patent Records for Land.

[41] Abundant evidence to this effect can be adduced.

[42] Land Office of Maryland, Warrants, Liber B. B., f. 137, gives the title in full down to 1719.

[43] Walter W. Preston, *History of Harford Count, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1901), p. 215. The statement is there made, but without source or authority, that James Presbury was the son of Joseph Presbury, of London, by Hannah, his wife, a sister of Samuel Bradford, Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, and an aunt of William Bradford, who settled at the head of Bush River early in the eighteenth century and founded a family. It is regrettable that no proof of this statement is at hand, since it seems quite plausible. James Presbury had a brother named Joseph Presbury (Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md., Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber B. B. No. 1, 1727-1728). Joseph settled near his brother, in Gunpowder Neck, and founded a family.

[44] Baltimore County Debt Book, 1750, Calvert Papers, Md. Hist. Society. He acquired more land later, and was one of the most respectable landowners of the county. After him there were two branches of the Presbury family, one living at "Elk Neck," the other at "Surveyor's Point."

number of members of the Presbury family.[45] Whether or no the interior had anything in the way of architectural amenities we can no longer tell, as it was burnt out many years ago.

Of history, in the strict sense of the word, there is nothing in connection with Elk Neck, unless it is a contract which the vestry of the Parish of Gunpowder Hundred entered into in the year 1693 for the building of a church for the said parish " at Elk Neck on Gunpowder River." [46] Absolutely nothing is known of this church.

In the summer of 1913, when I called at Quiet Lodge farm, I learned there that it was still known as " Raphel's," although fifty-nine years had passed since the Raphel family sold the place.[47] It was still also called Quiet Lodge. In the will of Etienne (or Stephen) J. Raphel, of Baltimore City, dated 6th May, 1811,[48] the testator expresses a desire to be buried " on my farm, situated in Harford County, called Quiet Lodge." [49] This farm was part of " Elk Neck " and the residence thereon was the old Presbury house. It lies in a bay of Gunpowder River, between Maxwell's Point and Reardon's Inlet (Hog Point), which, ever since the Raphels settled there, has been known as Frenchman's Bay or Frenchman's Hollow. Mr. Raphel purchased the farm in question, 361 acres, from George Presbury, of William, August 28, 1799.[50]

Etienne J. Raphel was born at Marseilles, 18th March, 1754.[51] and died at Baltimore, Maryland, 22nd May, 1811.[52] He came

[45] I called at Quiet Lodge farm in July, 1913, and copied all of the inscriptions I was able to make out, which included the following: G. Goldsmith Presbury Born May 1737; Goldsmith Presbury Born Sept 10 1749; Martha Presbury, Aug 7 1757; Elis. Jinnings. Isabel [?] Presbury; Mr. Geo. Presbury, Born Aug 16 1770 [1710?]; William Gold ..... The P..... of Pillory; George Goldsmith Presbury Wm. Born May 1st 1731 [1737?]; Mr..... Presbury Born Feb. 8 1713; Martha Presbury Born May 19 1749.

[46] Baltimore County Court Proceedings, September Court, 1693.

[47] Stephen J. Raphel, son of Etienne J. Raphel, sold Quiet Lodge farm to General George Cadwalader in 1854 (Bel Air, Md., Deeds, Liber A. L. J. No. 4, f. 328). I am indebted to his grandson, Mr. A. Alexis Raphel, for this information.

[48] This will is recorded at Baltimore, Md., in Liber 9, at f. 131. The executors were the testator's wife and the Hon. James McHenry. Mr. A. J. Raphel tells me that the will was written in French and translated by Mr. McHenry. The deceased left the then considerable fortune of about $60,000.

[49] He was, in fact, buried there, but years later his remains were removed to the churchyard of St. Stephen's Church, Bradshaw.

[50] Bel Air, Md., Deeds, Liber J. L. G. No. 0, f. 493. The grantor was the grandson of George Presbury (1710-1785).

[51] So stated in his will.

[52] Raphel Genealogical Chart, by A. Alexis Raphel, Md. Hist. Society; also tombstone, St. Stephen's Churchyard, Bradshaw, Md.

to this country from Martinique, it is said, where, according to tradition, he had once held a high official position;[53] and settled, eventually, in Baltimore. The year of his emigration is given as 1792.[54] His wife was Jeanne Elizabeth Fressenjat, baptized in the island of St. Lucie or St. Lucia, 20 April, 1771, daughter of Major Jacques Fressenjat and Elizabeth (Zoutin) Fressenjat.[55] It would appear that he had a right to a title of nobility, although, so it seems, he did not commonly use it.[56]

Old Presbury Church

Colored people called the Negro church, which stood near the head of the eastern branch of Canal Creek, in Gunpowder Neck, "old Presbury." Presbury church stood in what was called The Flatiron, where the road going down the neck from Magnolia met the road from Edgewood. Some white people knew this old church by that name.[57] On Martinet's Map of Harford County, 1878, it is called "Gunpowder M. E. Church." The name, "Old Presbury," goes back to Joseph Presbury, who, in the year 1773, made over to certain parties, evidently trustees, for a consideration of one shilling, one acre of land, "together with all that lately erected preaching house . . . for the use of the Weslyans."[58]

[53] I have it from Mr. A. Alexis Raphel that he was Procurator General of Martinique.

[54] Raphel Genealogical Chart. Without presuming to question this information, I note the fact that, according to the inscription on her tombstone in St. Stephen's churchyard, Bradshaw, Md., his daughter, Stephanie L. Raphel was born in the island of St. Eustatia [St. Eustatius?] 11 Nov., 1794. In the Baltimore directory for 1810 we find: Stephen Raphel, gentleman, Franklin near Eutaw St. I did not find him in earlier directories of this city.

[55] Raphel Genealogical Chart.

[56] I have seen, in the possession of Miss Florence May Raphel, great-granddaughter of Etienne J. Raphel, and sister of A. Alexis Raphel, a royal decree, in French, written on parchment, whereby the King of France gave permission to the Marquis Raphel de Ley to marry "Dame Fressenjat."

[57] In 1913 I heard Mr. Cadawalader's tenant at the old Maxwell house at the head of Waterton's (Watson's) Creek, Gunpowder Neck, call it by the same name.

[58] Baltimore County Land Records, Liber A. L. No. G., f. 153: 13 March, 1773, Joseph Presbury, of Baltimore County, yeoman, to John Watters, Nathan Horner and George York, yeomen, James Wetherall, sadler, all of Gunpowder Neck, Bernard Preston, of Thomas's Run, Sr., Henry Watters, of the same place, yeoman, Godfrey Watters, of the Lower Cross Roads, yeoman, Jospha Owings, Sr., near Gwyns Falls, yeoman, "all that part or parcel of land commonly called Colletts Neglect situate on the east side of a branch of water between the house of the said Presbury and John Waters which said branch descends into Elk Neck Creek" [Canal Creek] and runs to "the road leading to Joppa." The first Joseph Presbury, brother of James Presbury (q. v.) married Eleanor Carlile, 11 July, 1723, and

Hartman, in his " History of Methodism in Maryland, 1770-1912," mentions a Quarterly Meeting Conference of Methodists, held at the house of J. Presbury, December 23, 1772.[59] At what time this neglected and little known shrine of Methodism passed into the hands of a Negro congregation I am unable to say.

(*To be continued*)

died 7 June, 1724. Joseph Presbury, second of the name, married Sarah Lycraft, 11 Jan., 1749 (Register, St. John's Church, Baltimore County).

[59] " History of Methodism in Maryland, 1770-1912," by Alfred Z. Hartman, MS, Maryland Hist. Society, p. 20.

THE PUBLIC LEVY IN COLONIAL MARYLAND TO 1689

By John A. Kinnaman

FROM the very first years of settlement the English colonists in America were concerned about the form their government would take, and within that established governrment the laying and collecting of taxes attracted a sustained interest. The best minds in the colonies devoted a portion of their time to the consideration of the public revenue and how it should be collected. Following the tradition of the House of Commons, the Maryland assembly early defeated a plan of the proprietor that the assembly should be merely an assenting body and that they should not propose, debate, or amend legislation. During the meeting of 1650, the assembly declared that " noe Subsidies ayde Customes, taxes or impositions shall hereafter bee layd assessed, or leavyed or imposed upon the freemen of this province or on theire Merchandize Goods or Chattles," without the approval of a major part of the freemen or their deputies.[1] Usually financial legislation was passed for a year or for some specified purpose, but there are instances where revenue bills were passed in perpetuity.

Internal taxation took two main forms, the poll tax or head tax, and the direct property tax. Of the two the former was most common and was the main source of revenue for the colony. The direct property tax was current only during the rule of the Puritan commissioners and during the fourth intercolonial war. Proceeds from the poll tax were used to pay the burgesses, clerks of the two houses of assembly, the justices of the county and provincial courts, and after the establishment of the Anglican church the clergy of that faith; at times the members of the governor's council were also paid from this levy. Before 1650 the levy for these purposes was assessed somewhat in relation to the wealth of the individual, but not later than 1657 this policy ceased to be used and the levy became purely a head tax.

[1] *Archives of Maryland*, I, *Assembly, 1637/8-1664*, 302.

There is no known act of assembly before 1654 declaring which individuals were taxable. The first extant official statement on taxables came in a vague act of assembly in that year of 1654 when the colony was under the domination of the Puritan commissioners, " that all publique Charges of the Province shall after this present years be Levied not only upon persons taxable but also upon such visible Estates in the Province as followes, all Servants as well as freemen shall be taxed by the poll (Except women Servants such as are not negroes or Indians women who are taxable." [2] Evidently there was a difference between the charge for men and women, for a further clause in this same act mentions the tax on land as the fourth part of a poll female per hundred acres; these were probably female slaves.

Cattle were also taxed in the same terms of the taxes levied on women, " Cattle of three years old the same male of five yeares old the same, females of 2 years the 8th part of a poll, Males of 2 years old the 16th of a poll horses and m[u]les taxable to the same as a poll." [3] The session of 1657 still controlled by the Puritans brought another clarifying clause on exactly who was taxable, " that all publick Charges of this province shall this present year be Levied upon all person taxable p[er] poll and all men Servants that are or shall be brought into this Province for the future of what age soever they be shall be Taxable p poll as aforesaid." [4]

At a meeting of the council in June, 1662, it was decided to order the sheriffs to prepare the levy list. They were to have this task completed by July 20, and the lists were to include the names and surnames of every tithable person and the house where he lived.[5] One copy of this list was to be sent immediately to the governor and the council, and another copy was to be set up in the court house at the next session, there to stand for one year. If there were any errors, they were to be certified to the governor and council bfore September 1.[6]

The whole question of taxables was confused, and in 1662 the assembly passed a comprehensive act aimed at settling the problem. Because many disputes had arisen over the ages of the servants brought into the province and at what time they should be accounted taxable, the new act declared, " all Male Children

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 342.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, I, 359.
[5] *Ibid.*, III, *Council, 1636-1667*, 456.
[6] *Ibid.*, III, 456-457.

borne in this Province shall be take and accounted Taxable att the age of sixteene yeares and upwards And all Male Servants imported into this Province att or before the age of Tenn yeares shall be Accounted Taxable and soe rated. . . ." [7] Slaves were also considered taxable, and whether male or female they were considered taxable at ten years. Their place of birth did not matter.[8]

Evidently the act of April, 1662, did not settle the question of ages. Violations and arguments over the ages of servants continued unabated. Therefore in 1674 the assembly passed another act concerning taxables. The conditions expressed in this law were merely a repetition of the earlier act of 1662, except that priests and ministers were expressly exempt from taxation.[9]

The actual preparation of the lists of taxables had early been entrusted to the sheriffs, but there was considerable dissatisfaction with these results. At a meeting of the council on September 19, 1670, it was decided to inspect the original lists of tithables already prepared by the constables of the hundreds. The council doubted that a true list of tithables had been returned. The reported number of taxables had decreased since 1669, although it was well-known that great numbers of servants had been sold in the same counties reporting fewer tithables than in the preceeding year. Therefore, the council ordered the constables to return the lists of tithables last taken to their respective county courts. The courts were then to seal and return them to the governor and council not later than the second Tuesday in December.[10]

The lists presented by the constables do not seem to have been significantly more accurate than the final copies submitted by the sheriffs, for in 1676 an act was passed stating in precise terms just how the records were to be prepared. Under the new law the constables were to visit each house in the hundred between June 20 and July 31, and there to inquire of the chief person in the family what number of taxable persons in the household. From the results of this survey, the constable was to make two lists. One was to go to the sheriff and the other to be posted at the next meeting of the county court. In case the householder refused to

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 449.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*, II, *Assembly, 1666-1676*, 399.
[10] *Ibid.*, V, *Council, 1667-1687/8*, 76.

answer the constable or gave incorrect information, he was charged with double the levy due for every such person concealed. If the constable himself were at fault, he was to be fined five hundred pounds of tobacco for every mistake; proceeds thus secured were to be spent at the pleasure of the justices of the county court. Finally, so that no one could plead ignorance of who was or was not taxable, the assembly repeated the essentials of the statute which defined taxables. The new act changed the earlier pronouncement. Now all male children and imported servants were taxable at sixteen years, as were all slaves, both male and female who had reached that age. Freemen the age of sixteen or above were taxable, except priests and ministers and such poor and impotent persons as received alms from the county.[11]

Even this lengthy legislation did not cure the mistakes and errors in the preparation of tax lists. In the next year, 1677, Governor Notley issued a proclamation concerning the preparation of tax lists. "Whereas att the laying of the publick Levy of this Province for these two yeares last past, itt hath been the custome & practice of severall the Sheriffes wthin this Province to bring in rebatem^{ts} for severall persons returned in their lists of Titheables alleadging that they are runaway or dyed insolvent which is thought to happen meerly through the remisnes & negligence of the Sheriffes themselves not takeing care to secure or collect the same in due tyme, p^{r}sumeing that they shall be allowed for the same in the publick levy." [12] The sheriff was paid a percentage of the annual levy for preparing the lists and collecting taxes, usually ten per cent. Furthermore, the governor with the approbation of the council ordered the justices of each county to correct the general lists of taxables before they were sent to the council and delegates for levying the annual public charge. Finally, Notley declared that no change was to be made in the lists once they had been returned from the justices.[13]

Evidently from the constantly re-enacting legislation the tax lists were known to be faulty. The governor and the assembly were attempting to find means to make them more accurate and to keep them up to date.

During the first days of the colony the public levy was laid and

[11] *Ibid.*, II, 538-539.
[12] *Ibid.*, XV, *Council, 1671-1681*, 156.
[13] *Ibid.*

assessed by the governor and the council. Leonard Calvert, the first governor, on October 6, 1641, issued an order to the sheriff of St. Mary's County. The sheriff was required to levy the sums assessed by the action of the general assembly upon any and every party within his county " by distraining any Tobacco's or by distress and Sale of any other Goods of the party or parties refusing or delaying to pay the Assessment. . . ." The sums collected were to be paid to the treasurer of the province. Any surplus of a distress sale after the lawful fees were collected was to be returned to the individual.[14]

Since St. Mary's was the only county at that time, the task was fairly easy at first, but within nine years two more counties with their additional hundreds had been added. The general assembly in 1650 authorized the governor to issue writs to the sheriff of every county within the province to summon three or four of the inhabitants of Ann Arundel one or two of the inhabitants of Kent County, and one or two of the inhabitants of every hundred within St. Mary's County. These people were to be chosen by the freemen of the counties and hundreds to meet with the governor and council at St. Mary's on October 10. These delegates were to consider what further charges should be added to the levy already decided upon by the committee of the assembly. They were also to assess all the taxables of the province.[15]

The next year, 1651, the same procedure was ordered by the assembly, with some minor changes. Another county, Charles, had been added, and delegates from that county were invited to the meeting with delegates from each hundred of St. Mary's County, Kent County, and Anne Arundel County. These men with any members of the burgesses without express invitation could meet with the governor and council on October 10 to consider what charges were to be allowed to the assembly, and what should be added to the next year's levy. Within this group the governor or his deputy was to have a casting vote.[16]

During the first years of the settlement there was little or no distinction made between the houses of the general assembly. Under the Puritan commissioners only one house was established. Thus the annual budget could be arranged by one committee of

[14] *Ibid.*, III, 99.
[15] *Ibid.* I, 298.
[16] *Ibid.*, I, 313.

that house, which met and received claims against the public. When the government became more complicated and the bicameral system was an established fact, a more complex system was required.

The actual preparation of the annual budget passed through several committees. A committee of each house of the general assembly first organized the bills of its own house; then the two committees, or combined parts, thereof, sat as a committee of accounts.[17] Public notice was given at the county courts, informing the colonists that the authorized committee would sit to receive claims against the government.[18]

The committee formed by delegates from the individual counties was to consider also what further sums ought to be added to the levy of the current year in addition to that already approved by the general assembly. This committee also participated in determining how much should be levied per poll on the taxables of the province.[19] Usually the process was merely one of division since almost all the revenue laws required the tax to be levied equally on the assessables. The means used to assess the levy were not uniform, however. In 1680, the governor and the council did the levying by themselves and accepted minor claims against the province.[20] During the general assembly of 1682, the two houses appointed two members from each of their respective bodies to meet for auditing and stating the public accounts of the province.[21]

A growing population and the territorial expansion of the colony made it increasingly difficult to lay all the levies at once at St. Mary's. Therefore in 1671 an act was passed empowering the commissioners of the county courts to levy tobacco in order to pay the necessary charges of their counties.[22] Early practice had been for the commissioners of each county to evaluate extra charges incurred in conducting the individual affairs of their counties, and then to present the total when the general assembly met. The old system had provided that even distinct county charges were to be paid out of the general levy, whereas they should have been charged to the individual county that received

[17] *Ibid.*, I, 298; VII, *Assembly, 1676-1683*, 336-337, 474.
[18] *Ibid.*, XV, 321; VII, 337.
[19] *Ibid.*, I, 398, 313.
[20] *Ibid.*, XV, 320-321.
[21] *Ibid.*, VII, 336.
[22] *Ibid.*, II, 273.

the benefit. Such a situation meant that the populous county of St. Mary's paid a large share of the total county charges. Under the new act, county commissioners were allowed to establish the amount of their county levy and to raise tobacco to satisfy the charges.[23]

Twelve years later, in another attempt to find a satisfactory means of establishing the annual levy, the lower house requested the upper house to appoint some of their members to form a joint committee for the settlement of the public debt and accounts of the province. The upper house selected two of its members for such purposes.[24]

Thus the early years of the colony show the government searching for some means to provide general equitable taxation, and furthermore, to insure that the colony would be adequately financed. Transportation was obviously a growing problem which influenced the general assembly. When there was but one county, taxes could easily be laid and delegates could come to the sessions to participate in the legislative process. It was quite another thing when the colony became larger. Still the delegates sought adequate legislative protection for the population that would reduce the number of trips necessary for councilors and assemblymen to make each year.

Maryland as well as the other colonies suffered from a shortage of real money. Debts owed to English and Scottish merchants, as well as quit rents and other dues owed to the proprietor, drained off what ready money was available within the province. This adverse balance of trade continued as the market price of tobacco fell steadly in the first half century after settlement. Maryland did not improve her position until late in the colonial period because of the poor quality of tobacco offered for sale, and the refusal of the general assembly to safeguarding the quality of the leaf by law.

Profiting from the Virginia experience, Maryland colonists early began producing tobacco for sale overseas to pay for necessary materials and supplies. This tobacco production did not, however, bring hard money into the province. The colonists were thus forced into a barter economy. Tobacco being the only money crop, it was necessary to monetize the leaf. As tobacco receipts

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*, VII, 474.

became the common currency of the colony, the general assembly was required to enact a long series of laws relative to the position and acceptance of the commodity as money. The public levy and the quit rents due to the proprietor were payable in two installments per year. The proprietor unwillingly began to accept tobacco in lieu of money at a fixed rate of exchange. His acceptance eased the situation somewhat, as did also the acceptance of tobacco at a stated sum for the public charge. But these acceptances did little to help the colonists in their dealings with merchants and traders. A shortage of hard money was often felt even more keenly in the proprietarial ones. A significant percentage of the income of the colony went abroad to support an absent landlord. During the early years of the colony the fiscal year ended on October 10, but this date was not fixed and in later years November 10 became common. Paying the public charge was never easy for the colonists, although they could pay their taxes either in hard money, tobacco, or at times in grain.

The first mention of the laying of the public levy in Maryland bears the date October 23, 1640. It is an order of the Assembly that the public charges and the expenses of the burgesses should be allowed and assessed at the discretion of three men, Giles Brent, Treasurer, Councilor, and burgess from Kent County; John Lewger, Secretary, Councilor, and burgess from St. Mary's hundred; and Thomas Greene, burgess from St. Mary's hundred.[25] The next was a proclamation by the governor, Leonard Calvert, on October 6, 1641, ordering the sheriff of St. Mary's County to levy the sums assessed by the act of the general assembly and to return the money to the treasurer of the province. There was no mention of the amount levied or of the assessment per head.[26]

The following year a list of assessments made on the various counties for supplying troops and the sums paid to individuals for supplies appeared in the council records. The general assembly first authorized the levying of 1,210 pounds of tobacco to cover the costs of an expedition against the Indians between September 21 and October 13, 1642. This assessment was shared by the two counties, St. Mary's and Kent, in proportion to their population, St. Mary's being responsible for 806 pounds and Kent for 404 pounds. Provision was made to allow the commander of the

[25] *Ibid.*, I, 95.

[26] *Ibid.*, III, 99.

expedition to issue charges against the province for supplies needed along the route of the march. These charges were compiled by John Lewger to the amount of 6,033 pounds of tobacco. An additional levy of 400 pounds was made against Kent County, bringing the total for that county to 2,804 pounds, as against a total of 4,806 for St. Mary's County. This levy of 7,610 pounds for the province was apportioned at a rate almost of two to one, St. Mary's over Kent County.[27]

An act was also passed for the expenses of the burgesses for 1642 which amounted to 8,340 pounds of tobacco. From these lists the total taxables of the province were about 289, with 92 living in Kent County and 197 in St. Mary's County.[28]

An assessment of 4,000 pounds of tobacco was made against the taxables of St. Mary's County in 1643 to pay for the defense of the province against the Indian depredations.[29] Possibly because of its insular position or its remoteness from attack Kent County was not included in the assessment.

Although a period of starvation never occurred in the province, the supply of grain was not always plentiful. During the session of the general assembly sitting from January to March, 1648, the problem of food became so critical that the assembly passed an "Order of the pnt Assembly" to endure for the length of its session. Evidently some military campaigning the previous fall and winter had kept the soldiers under arms, probably contributing to a short crop. By the middle of the winter the existing corn supplies of the proprietor had been used and more was needed. To prevent some possible disturbance by the troops—since the assembly was aware that some provincials were hoarding grain—an order of confiscation was passed. Under this order officers of the colony were empowered to visit the storehouses of the colonists and to measure the amounts of grain held therein. A sufficient supply was to be left for the owner—to be computed at approximately two barrels per head except for suckling children—and the rest taken at a price of 150 pounds of tobacco per barrel. Anyone found hiding corn could be fined double the amount of the corn's cost.[30]

Near the end of April, 1649, the committee for charges of the

[27] *Ibid.*, III, 119-126.
[28] *Ibid.*, I, 142-146.
[29] *Ibid.*, III, 137-138.
[30] *Ibid.*, I, 217-218, 229.

assembly reported that for the current session Kent County should be charged 320 pounds of tobacco and St. Mary's County, 1,600 pounds; further charges of 7,056 pounds should be paid by assessment per poll in the province. In addition the governor was to call some representatives from the hundreds to meet in October with the council to complete the year's assessments.[31]

During the April session of 1650 charges against the whole province amounting to 3,420 pounds of tobacco were accepted by the assembly. The charges allowed for the burgesses were to be paid by their respective counties and hundreds proportionally, amounting to a total of 17,400 pounds of tobacco. St. Mary's County owed 10,850; Kent County, 2,250; and Anne Arundel County was to be assessed 4,300 pounds of tobacco. Since the committee did not feel they had an accurate assessment list for the various counties, they postponed making the charge until the October session.[32] To take care of the further assessments the general assembly authorized the governor to summon certain inhabitants from the three counties to meet on the following October 10th with the council and the governor or his deputy to approve the public charge and then to levy the total on the taxables " in a manner . . . as shalbe then thought fitt by the parties then meeting for that purpose. . . ." [33]

No record of any case is preserved in which the governor and council levied taxes upon the province without the permission and authorization of the general assembly. But in April, 1650, the lower house passed " An Act against raysing of Money Within the said Province without Consent of the Assembly." [34] Possibly this step was taken to forestall such action by the administration. It is probable that during the first years of the colony, part of the taxes were levied by the governor and council without referring the request to the assembly.

A year later Governor William Stone issued by the authority of the assembly, " An Order for the raising of the Leavies." It provided that the hundreds of St. Mary's County and the counties of Kent, Anne Arundel, and Charles were to select certain inhabi-

[31] *Ibid.*, I, 237-238.
[32] *Ibid.*, I, 282, 284-285.
[33] *Ibid.*, I, 298.
[34] *Ibid.*, I, 302; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and the West Indies, 1574-1660*, Noel W. Sainsbury, ed. (London, 1860), p. 329.

tants to meet with governor and council in October and there to determine what charges would be allowed in the public levy.[35] Unfortunately nothing but the order is preserved.

The Puritan commissioners ruling Maryland during 1654 passed a public levy and declared, "that all publique Charges of the Province shall after this present yeare be Levied not only upon persons taxable but also upon such visible Estates in the Province. . . ." This represents one of two instances in the history of the province of a levie against the real property of the inhabitants. Women servants were exempt from taxation unless they were negroes or Indians who were expressly mentioned. Land and cattle were taxable in relation to humans. Each hundred acres of land was charged as one-fourth of a female. Bulls of five years and heifers of three were taxed the same as land. Two year heifers were taxed one-eighth of a female taxable, and bulls two years old were taxed one-sixteenth of a female. Horses of either sex were taxed the equivalent of a male taxable. Tenants were responsible for the land-tax only if the owner resided outside the county, and then the tenant could rebate the tax from his rents due the landlord.[36]

Part of the county levies of October 1654 has been preserved. The accounts are those relating to each county's share of the expenses of the session of the general assembly headed by William Fuller, the commissioner under the Commonwealth. Only four counties are mentioned. Province owed 5,635 pounds of tobacco; Kent owed 1,403 pounds; Putuxent owed 3,568 pounds; and Potomock County owed a total of 9,000 pounds. These sums were to be levied on the inhabitants of the various counties.[37]

Evidently the commissioners under the Commonwealth found that taxing real property was more difficult than they had imagined. By 1657 they seemed to have reverted to the older system of taxing by heads. Probably the complications of creating tax lists including both land and animals as well as humans was too difficult to continue. One of the very first actions of the general assembly meeting on September 24, 1657 was expressly to repeal "An Act concerning pub Levies upon the visible Estates of the Inhabitants."[38] During the same session a new levy was

[35] *Archives of Maryland*, I, 313.
[36] *Ibid.*, I, 342.
[37] *Ibid.*, I, 355-356.
[38] *Ibid.*, I, 360.

passed, " It is Assented and Declared by this Generall Assembly that 32[l] of Tob p pole be raised and Levied by the Sheriff of this province, to Satisfie and Discharge these particular accompts and Charges of the publick. . . ." From this levy 4,000 pounds of tobacco were granted to the widow whose husband fell in the public service, leaving four small children; several additional grants were made to lame men. The act provided that 32,974 pounds of tobacco were to be paid out, but the disbursements required only 25,104 to be spent. Thus the number of taxables can be estimated at 1,030, if all the taxables paid and if the lists were correct. The charges for those counties which have been preserved are as follows: Providence 10,240 pounds of tobacco; Kent 2,684 pounds; Putuxent River 10,944; Potomock River 1,236; and levied out of the County of Putuxent 6,844 pounds of tobacco.[39]

An unusual problem occurred during the sessions of the general assembly in April and May of 1661. The year before a levy of eighteen pounds of tobacco had been made on the province to cover certain charges against the government. It was reported to the general assembly in 1661 that many of these debts had not been paid. A supplementary act was passed providing that just charges from the proceeding year which had not been satisfied, should be paid this year, and that any surplus go towards proclaiming the new king Charles II and paying the soldiers.[40] The same session had provided that the governor could raise troops at provincial expense to aid some friendly Indians, if the situation demanded soldiers.[41] The charges upon the individual counties to pay their burgesses were also raised at the very end of the session. St. Mary's County owed 8,000 pounds of tobacco; Charles 4,000; Calvert 8,000; Anne Arundel 4,000; Kent County 4,000; and Baltimore County 2,000 pounds of tobacco. The same act provided a total of 4,105 pounds of tobacco be added to the public levy to satisfy certain claims that recently occurred, and that Mr. John Norwood should be paid 5,975 pounds of tobacco out of the Anne Arundel County levy, probably for imprisonment charges since he was the sheriff of that county.

The April session of the general assembly in 1662 provided

[39] *Ibid.*, I, 363-365.
[40] *Ibid.*, I, 417-418.
[41] *Ibid.*, I, 400, 406-407.
[42] *Ibid.*, I, 419-420.

that the various counties should satisfy their individual burgesses for their expenses of meat, drink, lodgings, and travel for the session then concluding. Further expenses of the session were included. Hannah Lee, widow, was paid 1,000 pounds of tobacco for house room. The clerks of the two houses received 3,000, with 500 pounds for the door keeper. Finally the two houses jointly declared that all public charges amounting so far to 3,000 pounds of tobacco and public money levied should be assessed by the governor and the council.[43]

The fall terms of the general assembly of 1663 levied twenty-five pounds per poll on the 2,873 taxables of the province, amounting to 71,825 pounds of tobacco, which was to be paid to the governor for sundry expenses. A further 17,500 pounds was allowed for various expenses connected with the session of the general assembly, and the counties were required to satisfy their respective burgesses for their time, meat, drink, lodging, boats and hands if required. These expenses—except the burgesses' charges—and 9,924 pounds paid to the sheriffs for their services made the receipts for the levy amount to a total of 99,249 pounds of tobacco.[44] The following year 1664, the sheriffs were allowed 12,494 pounds of tobacco for collecting the public levy, which totalled 124,940 pounds of tobacco.[45]

The records of both the provincial levy and the county levy for St. Mary's County have been preserved for 1666. The council met on September 12, 1666, to take into consideration the public levy for the year. Major expenses included reimbursing the governor for a horse given to the Indians and finishing the rails and benches for the courthouse, as well as providing carpets and other necessities. These payments amounted to 8,298 pounds of tobacco. The chancellor was paid 2,000 pounds for expenses for a trip down to irginia, and 4,422 pounds were allotted to two men for working about the late Secretary's office. These expenditures amounted to 14,670 pounds of tobacco. This document did not mention the assessment per poll for the provincial expenses or the number of tithables in the colony. But on September 25 the council met again to determine the county levy for St. Mary's, and at the end of the list declared that the public levy for the year

[43] *Ibid.*, I, 440-441, 456.
[44] *Ibid.*, I, 482-483, 505-506.
[45] *Ibid.*, I, 540-541.

was forty-one pounds of tobacco per poll in the province. These figures would indicate that other expenses must have been provided for during the spring session of the council. The county total allowed at this meeting was 6,764 pounds of tobacco, and the sheriff was paid 10 per cent for collecting it, thus making a grand total of 7,440 pounds for St. Mary's County. This amount was apportioned exactly at twelve pounds per poll. Added to the public assessment of forty-one pounds, it required the taxables of St. Mary's County to pay a total of fifty-three pounds of tobacco for 1666; or the total collected for the county in taxes amounted to about 32,860 pounds of tobacco for approximately 620 taxables in the county.[46] Amounts levied in the other counties have not been preserved.

The St. Mary's County levy for 1667, which was made up on October 22, provided for paying out 1,300 pounds of tobacco for wolves' heads and 3,400 pounds for housing the indigent poor. This levy amounted to 4,700 pounds, and the sheriff was allowed 460 pounds, almost 10 per cent for collecting 5,160 pounds. The number of tithables in St. Mary's County was 688, and the county levy was assessed at seven and one-half pounds per poll. For the same year the public levy was fifty pounds, making a total of fifty-seven and one-half pounds assessed and a total collection of 39,560 pounds for the year, according to the council's figures.[47]

The public charge for the province for 1669, levied on May 27, 1669, was 231,160 pounds of tobacco, plus a commission of 10 per cent allowed to the sheriffs for collection, making a total of 254,276 pounds of tobacco to be levied by equal assessment upon the inhabitants of the colony. A further sum of 38,278 pounds of tobacco was to be levied on the counties to pay the expenses of their respective burgesses. This latter total was to be proportioned among the counties as follows: St. Mary's, 5,970; Kent, 3,671; Anne Arundel, 6,083; Calvert, 4,945; Charles, 5,787; Baltimore, 4,257; Talbot, 4,628; Dorchester, 418; and Somerset, 519.[48]

By 1671, the general assembly thought that the act which permitted the counties to lay and assess certain charges was insufficient; therefore, the commissioners of the county courts were empowered to levy and raise tobacco to defray the necessary

[46] *Ibid.*, III, 556-557.
[47] *Ibid.*,V , 20.
[48] *Ibid.*, II, 227-235.

charges of their counties by equal assessment on the taxables of their respective counties.[49]

The assembly still felt unsure of general acceptance of its right always to participate in laying the public levy. In the spring session of the general assembly of 1671 an act for the support of the lord proprietor included a clause that the act should remain effective as long as no public levy was laid without the prior consent of the freemen in open assembly.[50]

The public charge for the provincial expenses for the first half of 1671 amounted to 76,311 pounds of tobacco. Sheriffs were allotted 7,631 pounds for collecting it, making a total of 83,942 pounds. In addition the several counties were charged with the expenses of their individual burgesses: St. Mary's, 2,411; Kent, 1,237; Anne Arundel, 3,440; Calvert, 4,307; Charles, 2,648; Baltimore, 2,123; Talbot, 2,737; Somerset, 1,135; and Dorchester, 1,171. The total charge for payment of burgesses for all the counties was 21,201 pounds of tobacco.[51]

In the second half of the year 1671 the charge of the first half (83,942 pounds of tobacco) was added to that due for the later period (45,718) for a total of 129,742 pounds for the public charge. At the end of the act were listed the individual counties, the number of tithables in each, and the levy per head charged to reach the total public charge of 129,742 pounds. Total taxables (5,641) were all assessed at twenty-three pounds per poll save three who were taxed at thirty-three pounds per head. Charges to the individual counties for the expenses of the burgesses for the first half of the year were carried over into the fall session and added to the sum of 4,441 pounds to total 25,650 pounds. The fall levy for burgesses for the counties was: St. Mary's, 426; Calvert, 568; Kent, 458; Anne Arundel, 1,005; Baltimore, 110; Charles, 426; Talbot, 916; Somerset, 142; and Dorchester, 390 pounds of tobacco.[52]

In the spring session of the general assembly of 1674, an act was passed providing for 240,258 pounds of tobacco to defray the public costs of the province, almost double that of 1671. Most of these charges were for the recent session of the general assembly, fighting Indians, and taking care of the public records. The assessment was for the provincial charges and no county costs were

[49] *Ibid.*, II, 273.
[50] *Ibid.*, II, 285.
[51] *Ibid.*, II, 303-305.
[52] *Ibid.*, II, 338-341.

given; since the new law allowed the county commissioners greater freedom in the determination of county charges. The sheriffs were given 21,841 pounds for collecting the levy.[53]

At the session in February of 1674/5, after the news had been received of Indian depredations, the general assembly passed a special levy of fifty thousand pounds of tobacco to cover the costs of a war against the Cynegal and Susquehanna Indians, if it should occur. Special provision was included that if the charges exceeded the sum already appropriated the assembly would make good such payments at the next session. This act was to endure for three years or to the end of the next general assembly.[54]

The public charge assessed during the same session was for a total of 107,897 pounds of tobacco, and the allowance to the sheriffs of 10,789 pounds for collection raised the total to 118,686 pounds. Thirty thousand pounds of this levy was allowed to the governor to aid in defraying his expenses at St. Johns. A total of 21,303 pounds were allowed for the " entertainment " [housing] of grand juries, clerks of the upper house, and other expenses of the burgesses. Another expense of 29,354 pounds was allowed for the clerks of the lower house and other public expenses.[55]

The council met at Mattapenny-Sewall on October 13, 1675, to consider the public charge of the province. Taxables in the province were listed as 6,610 persons; the public charge of the province for the year with the sheriff's percentages of 47,592 included was 528,800 pounds, the levy per poll being eighty pounds. In order to pay in part for the prosecution of the war against the Susquehannough enemy, the sum of 367,219 pounds of tobacco was ordered to be collected in this levy. The governor was again allowed 30,000 pounds for his expenses.[56]

Later in that year on November 27, 1675 another levy was made to aid in paying for the cost of the Indian war. This levy provided for an assessment of an additional eighty-five pounds of tobacco on all the taxables of the province, which would mean that the total levy for the year 1675 was one hundred and sixty-five pounds per poll. The various sums due from the respective counties for all of 1675 were the following.

[53] *Ibid.*, II, 415-417.
[54] *Ibid.*, II, 462-463.
[55] *Ibid.*, II, 468-470.
[56] *Ibid.*, XV, 50-54.

Counties	Taxables	Levy
St. Mary's	924	152,460
Kent	300	59,500
Anne Arundel	816	134,640
Calvert	1,091	180,015
Charles	785	129,525
Talbot	1,018	157,970
Baltimore	319	52,635
Dorchester	355	58,575
Somerset	603	99,485
Cecil	399	65,835

The total levy for the year 1675 was the greatest in the history of the colony to that date, 1,070,640 pounds of tobacco, to be paid by a total of 6,610 taxables.[57]

The spring session of the general assembly in 1676 passed a revenue bill for 293,302 pounds of tobacco. In addition sums amounting to 13,829 pounds were levied for the costs of keeping the burgesses. The sheriffs were allowed their usual 10 per cent, 30,713 pounds in this case, for collection, making the total levied for the session 337,844 pounds of tobacco. Such members of the assembly who came to St. Mary's to lay the levy were to be reimbursed by their respective counties. A reasonable amount was to be allowed to the members of the council for their part in apportioning the charge.[58]

It is possible that the levy for the fall term was equally large or even greater. On January 22, 1677, Governor Notley wrote to Baltimore stating that the total public levy for the preceding year had been 297 pounds per head and that the levy for the year previous had been large too. Notley said that malignant spirits were muttering and might cause some mutiny, " for the common people will never be brought to understand the just reason for a public charge, or will they ever believe that the expenses is for their own preservation." [59] If the total taxables for the year 1675 are multiplied by the charge of 297 pounds, the total amount assessed for 1676 possibly amounted to as much as 1,963,170 pounds of tobacco. During the same session of the general

[57] *Ibid.*, XV, 59-62.
[58] *Ibid.*, II, 551-555.
[59] *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial. America and West Indies. 1667-1680*, pp. 7-8, no. 12.

assembly of 1676 an act was passed regulating the pay, tenure of service, and charges allowable for troops in the case of an Indian uprising when the general assembly was not in session.[60] Probably the very large assessments of 1675 and 1676 are attributable to the general Indian troubles being experienced by the middle colonies. This is the same era which produced Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia.

A sum amounting to 825,979 pounds of tobacco was levied during the fall terms of the general assembly in 1678 to pay for the expedition against the Nanticoke Indians and other charges of the province allowed by the two houses of the assembly.[61]

During the wars against the Indians in 1678 a troop of men under the command of Captain Randolph Brandt ranged throughout Charles County for ten weeks. Since they did not engage in any fighting, the troops were allowed only half of the usual pay granted for participation in Indian wars. By 1680, they had not yet received satisfaction for the other half amounting to 47,370 pounds of tobacco. Brandt petitioned the proprietor for the missing half, but the petition was referred to the next general assembly.[62]

The council met on November 2, 1680, to lay the public levy, but since the lists of taxables for St. Mary's, Anne Arundel, and Baltimore counties had not been returned by the sheriffs, the council adjourned until November 23.[63]

The levy for 1681 was set at 300,000 pounds of tobacco. But there was a possibility of war with the northern Indians, and if it resulted the appropriation might not be adequate for the expenses of the campaign. Therefore the upper house requested the lower house to join with it in placing in their respective journals a declaration that the general assembly would honor all charges made in pursuance to fighting the Indian war if it occurred.[64] The lower house agreed, and such a statement was included in the lower house journal.[65] The lower house noted on the following day, September 17, that a levy of seventy-two pounds per taxable would exceed the total charges allowed by 2,042.[66]

[60] *Archives of Maryland,* II, 557-560.
[61] *Ibid.*, VII, 87-104.
[62] *Ibid.*, XV, 318.
[63] *Ibid.*, XV, 320-321.
[64] *Ibid.*, VII, 176.
[65] *Ibid.*, VII, 179-180.
[66] *Ibid.*, VII, 187.

The same day a notice was received from Baltimore through the chancellor that the proprietor would not consider tobacco without the assembly's prior consent, and that if a war against the northern Indians occurred the expenses of the war would be satisfied on the basis of the vote of 10 o'clock A. M. Therefore, he saw no reason to levy the 300,000 pounds at this time.[67]

During the same session the total amount expended reached 547,606 pounds of tobacco, the sheriffs having again been allowed 10 per cent, 49,782 pounds, for collecting the amount.[68] Assuming that the levy per taxable for the year so far was seventy-two pounds of tobacco, these figures would seem to indicate that the total number of taxables was about 7,600. This figure is not improbable or out of line with earlier numbers of taxables given in the records.

During a meeting of the general assembly in early November of the same year a further assessment was necessary to cover the province's expenses. Claims against the government amounting to 223,443 pounds of tobacco had been accepted, while the sheriffs were able to collect only 219,662 pounds and were allowed their 10 per cent, 21,966, for collecting the levy. The total amount, therefore, expended for the session was 245,409 pounds, but only 241,628 pounds had been collected. Thus the provincial government was slightly short on receipts.[69] The total expenditures for the year 1681 amounted to 793,015 pounds of tobacco.

The next spring 1682, the amount claimed and allowed against the province totalled 169,061 pounds; the sheriffs were allowed 15, 906 pounds, the whole amount expended in the session being 174,976. There was no mention of the number of taxables or of the amount levied per taxable individual.[70]

For the first half of the year 1684 claims amounting to 205,911 pounds of tobacco were approved, and an additional 10 per cent (20,591) was allowed to the sheriffs, making the total 226,502 pounds of tobacco.[71] The general assembly meeting on October 26, 1686, passed the general levy for that session at the total of 446,248 pounds of tobacco, the sheriffs having been allowed 40,568 for collecting it in addition to 5,040 pounds allowed to

[67] *Ibid.*, VII, 184.
[68] *Ibid.*, VII, 208-214.
[69] *Ibid.*, VII, 248-252.
[70] *Ibid.*, VII, 326-327.
[71] *Ibid.*, XIII, 110-111.

the seven sheriffs to cover the costs of providing boat service for the burgesses of the county to reach the meetings of the assembly.[72]

The final levy preserved before the revolution of 1689 was passed in the fall meeting of the assembly of 1688. A sum amounting to 387,125 pounds was claimed, allowed, and collected. The sheriffs were granted 39,712 pounds for collecting the levy, and the total expended during the session amounted to 436,837 pounds of tobacco.[73]

Further financial records were lost during the subsequent events that led up to the overthrow of the proprietary government. Although our information relating to the levy for the years 1634-1689 is often incomplete or entirely lost, a general understanding of the tax system can be obtained.

The plan of taxing by heads was the most prevalent form. Except for one interval it was the only method used. Even the Puritan commissioners returned to direct head taxing after trying a tax on real property. It was difficult enough to obtain acceptable tax lists of individuals, without attempting some imitation of the *Doomsday Books.* The proprietor himself began accepting a flat payment in place of his quit rents, since that relived him of the expense of keeping the land books in proper order.

Although throughout this period the assembly remained amenable to the proprietor's will, as the colony grew larger and more populous the assembly became increasingly aware of its " rights and privileges." By the end of the period the style of the levy was fairly fixed. The committee of the general assembly for accounts sat at the end of the term and accepted such charges as had risen since the previous meeting in October or early November. They also totalled the charges for the current session of the general assembly. At times a levy was laid on the taxables after the spring session, but this was usually done only in case of Indian uprisings when very large expenses could be anticipated. More often these charges were laid aside until the fall session which usually met on or about the 10th of October, and then the charges for both sessions were added together and laid at one time. For some years, there was only one session of the general assembly in the spring. In such cases then the general assembly

[72] *Ibid.*, XIII, 130-132.
[73] *Ibid.*, XIII, 225-227.

provided that the governor, the council, and selected inhabitants of the province and/or any members of the lower house would sit and receive additional charges against the province. This committee would total the year's expenses, and apportion them equally upon the taxables of the province. In an era when relative worth was not extreme, when the size of a labor force was a good determinant of real worth, and when few men made their living other than by physical labor—farming—a tax laid upon slaves and white males over the age of sixteen was reasonably fair. Such a tax system had the advantage of simplicity and evidently of effectiveness.

Survey of the Provincial Assessments Levied on the Taxables of Maryland from the First Recorded Act to 1689

Year	Levy per Head	Taxables	Total *
1642	55	289	15,950
1649			8,976
1650			20,820
1657	32	1,030	32,974
1660	18		
1661			36,080
1662			7,500
1663	25	2,873	99,249
1664			124,940
1666	41		14,670
1667	50		39,560
1669			254,276
1671	23	5,641	129,742
1674			240,258
1675	165	6,610	1,070,640**
1676	297	6,610	1,963,170
1678			825,979
1681	72	7,600	793,015
1682			174,967
1684			226,502
1686			446,248
1688			436,837

* These totals given in pounds of tobacco are in many cases incomplete. Some totals represent only the expenses of half a year, while in certain years the assembly met only once. Since the greatest part of the year's levy went to pay for the sessions of the general assembly, the total charges for those years of single sessions would thus necessarily be decreased. Furthermore, the records are incomplete and only a portion of the assessment for several years has been preserved.

** Evidently not all the assessment was collected.

SUMMARY OF THE COUNTY ASSESSMENTS LEVIED ON THE TAXABLES OF MARYLAND FROM 1643 TO 1675
GIVEN IN POUNDS OF TOBACCO PER HEAD

Year	St. Mary's	Kent	Anne Arundel	Charles	Calvert	Baltimore	Talbot	Dorchester	Somerset	Cecil
1643	4,000									
1647	7,752									
1649	1,600	320								
1650	10,850	2,250	4,300							
1654	9,000[1]	1,403	5,635[2]		3,568[4]					
1657	1,236[1]	2,684	10,240[2]	10,944[3]	6,844[4]					
1661	8,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	8,000	2,000				
1666	7,400									
1667	5,160									
1669	5,970	3,671	6,083	5,787	4,945	4,257	4,628	418	519	
1671	2,837	1,695	4,445	3,074	4,875	2,233	3,653	1,561	1,277	
1643	152,460	59,500	134,640	129,525	180,015	52,635	157,970	58,575	99,485	65,835

[1] Referred to as Potomock County in text.
[2] Referred to as Providence County in text
[3] Referred to as Putuxent River in text.
[4] Referred to as Putuxent County in text.

SIDELIGHTS

FOUR LETTERS TO A MARYLAND VOLUNTEER

The following letters were written by friends and relatives to Corporal Thomas Sewall Ball, a young Baltimorean who enlisted in Company B, 10th Regiment Infantry, Maryland Volunteers, on June 18, 1863, when that regiment was organizing in Baltimore in answer to President Lincoln's proclamation of June 15. After the Gettysburg campaign, in which the regiment did not actively participate, the 10th Maryland was sent to Harpers Ferry to guard communications along the upper Potomac.

On October 18, 1863, the regiment took part in the day long action in Charlestown, Va., which drove from that place General John Imboden's Confederate forces who earlier in the day had captured the 9th Maryland Infantry Regiment. Included in Imboden's force was Major Harry Gilmor's battalion of cavalry containing many Marylanders.

Following this action, the 10th Maryland served in western Maryland and Virginia until mustered out of service on January 29, 1864 on the expiration of its term of enlistment. These four letters are among a series presented to the Society by Mr. Haines Ball Felter, of Baltimore, a grandson of Corporal Ball.

The "Four Letters" are published exactly as they appeared in the original to preserve the color of the times. The article is edited by C. A. Porter Hopkins.

Esteemed & Beloved
Friend & Brother

Baltimore August 8th 1863

Mr T. Sewall Ball
Dr Sir

We had a report about you being ill, but from reliable sources were much releived to ascertain that if such had been your condition you had entirely recovered; our interest in yourself and the good cause you are in, does not in the least abate, but as the end appears near (as far as human foresight can judge) we are looking to the Lord to whose care we daily commit you individually, but do not forget also those whose near friends think and pray for them. In my last (which I regret did not reach you) I volunteered (not exactly Knowing your situation or habit) to make the following suggestions, that you removed your suspenders when you lay down for a night's sleep, and also your garters, if you wear the articles, and as frequently as possible undressed yourself for sleep, and availed yourself of a bath for not longer than two minutes at a time, always avoiding water deeper than your waist, unless you can swim and if you cannot this is sufficiently deep to learn that art which

is the most simple, try to lay on your face on the top of the water letting your chin rest on its surface and then be in no hurry as if you feared, move your hands forward and round at arms length till they come parrallel with your shoulders and let your feet float to the surface draw they upwards towards your body by bending your knees and deliberately kick as if you wanted to kick something from your feet, at the same time let your hands perform their duty calmly, for if you choose water of no greater depth than I have mentioned what if you dont succeed the first trial, try try again, and determine to learn and you will soon have the satisfaction of pushing off fearlessly into deeper water, but some trials will seem short at two minutes but think of it as a business to be accomplished and after you have been in the water a few times then lengthen the minutes to ten gradually, unless it weakens you of this you must judge, and as you have set up for yourself, study well what is beneficial to you and as Father & Mother are not near to advise ask yourself how would they that I should act, and let it govern you, in every act of our life the great and Good Being aught to be consulted, how glad I feel that in your youthful days you gave your heart to the Lord. He will keep you and be your light and salvation, for He will never leave nor forsake them that put their trust in Him, Your bodily health as well as the ability to act your part well are in His power to give or to withhold but all things will be given you richly to enjoy, if you are a good Soldier of the Cross, dont rest in anything less than an *internal evidence of the love of God shed abroad in your heart daily*. He will be your light and your Salvation, not from sin only, but from every evil that flesh is heir to, yes He will make the " rough paths of peevish nature even, and open in your breast a little Heaven," all are well at home and your own dear self are the source of pleasure, many times the long for to see you, what do you think we had a picknick and that little sister of yours said although she enjoyed it much yet she would have been so much happier if Brother had been here, so you see the old proverb " out of sight out of mind " dont hold good in your case, but with so much love and affection, and so many prayers surely you will not refuse to accept and reciprocate.

What do you mean by asking me to spare a few frogs. I will [not] shoot one unless for a sick person or yourself till I see you, and as to fish they surely never were so scarce. I must stop for my hand refuseses to hold my pen till I finish. August 9th This is the Sabbath. T. Sewall [1] preached this morning from 1st verse of 4th Chap. Hebrews. Let us therefore fear last a promise being left us of entering into that rest, any of you should seem to come short of it, he prayed for you with unusual fervour, for the President and his constitutional advisers, and for the blessing of the Lord on the means used to restore this once happy country to peace prosperity & union. I will show this at your home and ask if they wish to add anything.

Your kind parents Sisters & Brothers & Grandmother are well. You

[1] Rev. Thomas Sewall (1821-1870). Rector of Charles St. Methodist Episcopal Church during the war years, Diehlman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

have not said a word about being in the Potomac longer than you desired, but we heard about it, and it has been kept from your Mother. I want the particulars from your own pen as a child of Providence, and hope you will learn to swim, but you must now display caution or your loved ones at home will never be easy during your absence, your duties are arduous this hot weather, but if you will moisten your handkerchief and put it on your head it will save you from Sun Stroke & keep you comparatively comfortable, remember me to Mr. Simon and say no fish at long bridge this summer. I am glad to hear from him through his Brother at the Store. Sammy had James Wright to dinner on Sabbath all your friends often talk of you and pray for you, every Sabbath our prayers as a school go up in your behalf, we commit the keeping of your body & Soul into the hands of Him " that sees our want and knows our name, and looks and loves His image " then may His hand lead you and guide you through all your trials and strengthen you for every duty, and may you be willing to see and acknowledge Him at all times, but few men become desperately wicked but by beginning in a manner that one can hardly find fault with therefore Dear Sewall mind small things, and may wisdom guide you, so prays yours,

Truly & Affectionately

A Westerman [2]
190 Mulberry St
Balt^o M^d.

Write as soon as convenient

Salisbury, Md.
Sept. 21^st 1863.

Dear Sewell.

We arrived home last Thursday, just in time to escape the equinoctial storm. We left Cousin Annie in Philadelphia, enjoying herself as well as she could, in your absence. She seemed much pleased, as also daughters, with the various places of interest we visited: the U. S. Mint, Fair Mount water works, the Horticultural Exhibition at the Academy of Music, Carncross & Dixie's Exhibition H. I would have lingered longer in Philadelphia: but money failed; and you know no man has business in a city after his money is out.

Well, I have now returned to Salisbury to set in for a year's toil. Schoolteaching is pretty hard work, very confining, & pays, as you know, but little. I said the other day to a young man in the Washington Navy Yard, who told me he received for the last month $41.50, that that was better than being shot down on the battle field, at $13—per month! But upon second thought, I can't say I think it is. The pay in the army is a secondary consideration. The great thing is the suppression of the Rebellion; and I confess I should vastly like to have a hand in it: for I hate the rebellion more and more every day.

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[2] Ahikam Westerman—Bailiff—Wood's *Baltimore City Directory*, 1864.

We enjoyed ourselves in Balto. as well as could be expected. You were on the lips of some one every hour in the day. Sewell no one in the army, I judge, is more sincerely beloved, and has more fervent prayers offered for him, than yourself. But all this will avail you but little, if you be not yourself vigilant, guarding against sin. Do my, dear fellow, play the part of a second Capt. Vickers! You have now a fair opportunity to go about doing good. The store no longer presents its China barriers and glass walls. And the opportunity you now have cannot last long: for the indications are pretty strong that the "Stars & Stripes" will soon wave again, over what still remains of Rebellion. The sooner the better. May the Lord hasten the time. Amen!

We are expecting news from Charleston this afternoon. Amazing is it that the Rebels will not lay down their arms, seeing their cause is so hopeless. But the fact is, they have carried the rebellion so far, and boasted of their own valor so much, that they are too proud to do what otherwise they would gladly do. If the Emperor of France would at once honestly assure them that he will not interfere, it would be better for them.

Remember me to all your fellow soldiers who know me, if there be such in yr. Regiment. And in the day of battle, if you should be called to actual conflict, may the Lord God of your fathers shield you, that you may live to praise Him.

God bless you. Your Cousin

R. H. Ball.

Salisbury. Sept 21st 1863
Monday night

Dear Cousin Sewell,

Your letter of the 15th was received on Friday last, and I must commend you for your punctuality in answering my hasty "epistle." You are a perfect model of a correspondent—hope I shall improve by the example set before me

Annie went on to Philadelphia with us last Tuesday morning. She took board at the house where Mrs. Perrine boards, but we were with her all the time we remained in the city. We saw as many "sights" as possible during our short stay; that is, we went to the Academy of Fine Arts, and admired the fine paintings there; to the United States Mint, Fairmount &c, &c. Annie wanted me to stay with her a little while longer, and let Pa and Mary come home, but the gentleman put his veto on that, so on Thursday morning we bade farewell to the Quaker city, and commenced our journey to these delightful regions, where we arrived safely in due course of time. Annie intended remaining in Philadelphia a week or two. I hope she will enjoy her visit.

I heard this evening that the Copperheads of the surrounding country are going to organize a guerilla band to harass the Union population. I don't know whether the report is true, but if it is, I want you to select the best cavalry company near you, and order it here to oppose them.

It is doubtful though if your order would have any effect, is'nt it? But seriously if there is such an organization being raised, men ought to be ordered here to protect the loyal people, for Copperheads are equal to anything evil.

There is a young girl visiting here at this time who has seen something of the realities of war. She was residing with her father in Tennessee in the early part of the war, and he had to flee from there to save his life. He was threatened on account of his Union sentiments, and the day before he left he saw two respectable men hung, for no other reason but because they were loyal to our Government. A day of reckoning is coming for the perpetrators of these crimes and I only hope it will hasten its approach.

I don't remember John Bromwell, but Mary says he was with us on that picnic. I am glad I have no remembrance of him, for I don't wish to number among my acquaintances any man who could prove himself such a coward.[3]

Are you detached from your company now? From what you said I inferred that you were. Are you encamped any where near Point of Rocks? I believe you said you were not on the Heights still Part of our regiment is a Point of Rocks.

But is bedtime, and I must close my letter and retire, for I am not proverbial for early rising. All of " your enquiring friends " send regards.

Write soon to your

Cousin Clara

134 Hoffman Street,
Baltimore Md
Sept. 26th 1863.

My dr. Sewall;

Your father showed me, on Wednesday Evening last, a letter from You to the folks at home, with which I was very much pleased. I thought that a word or two from one of your Pastors would not be unacceptable, Especially as You are away from home.

I was very glad to read the record of your failures, as the World Would say, to put on *manly* habits. You are now 21 yrs old & have " never hired a horse Etc." You are none the worse for this, but on the Contrary are more temperate and honorable than if you had gone in the way of temptation.

I congratulate you on your Majority. You are now a man, and will be, I trust, a full grown man in Christ Jesus. It pleases me to find you sending for such books as those mentioned in your letter. Good, religious reading will develope both mind and heart. Remember this. As a Young Christian, You need all the helps you can get, and You will find such help in

[3] 2nd Lt. John A. Bromwell, enlisted 10th Md. Volunteers June 18, 1863. Resigned September 8, 1863. L. Allison Wilmer, *et. al.*, *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861-5* (Baltimore, 1898), I, 356.

those volumes which relate to Christian experience, and which bring before the mind the peculiar doctrines of our Church. I fear that our Young people do not acquaint themselves, as they should, with the principles of our faith as Methodists.

See that you are always "able to give a reason for the hope that is in you."

I trust that you may grow in Grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ while in the Army. Be a thorough soldier of the Cross while a soldier for & of our glorious land.

I suppose you have heard of the tearing down & building up at Old Eutaw.[4] You will hardly know the old Church when you come home. I am in for all improvements, and shall be glad when we finish the "hive."

I need not try to give you any news. You get all from your folks at home. I only write to let you know that I think of you & wish you very well.

Mrs W. is in the Country, whither she went on Thursday. If she were home, she would join me in love to you.

Let me hear from you when you have a moment to spare.

May God bless & keep you.

Truly Yrs.

Henry C. Westwood

[4] The writer of this letter was Rector of this Church on the corner of Madison Avenue and Townsend St., Diehlman File.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Ill-Starred General: Braddock of the Coldstream Guards. By Lee McCardell. Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958. xii, 335 pp. $6.

Many are the hazards, in writing a life of General Braddock: The dearth of documentation for his earlier years, the present public ignorant even as to the General's first name and perhaps incurious to learn. Above all else there is the melancholy symbolism of a journey across mile after mile of lonely wilderness, a journey requiring great effort, a journey that ends in disaster. It was in 1755, somewhere in western Pennsylvania, that Major General Edward Braddock III, commanding the largest military operation mounted prior to the Revolution in the area that is now the United States, died in agony. In the two centuries following his death, no biography appeared.

The want has now, at last, been met. The manner in which Lee McCardell fixed his literary compass sights on a figurative Fort Duquesne, and persevered until he was there, is excellent. Yet such were the rigors of his journey that lesser authors mired down. To record one or two of Mr. McCardell's specific hazards, now happily overcome, will possibly strengthen some weary toiler.

His book was begun at least 21 years ago. Mr. McCardell, then a general-assignment reporter on *The Evening Sun*, had been interested in Braddock since boyhood. Braddock Heights and Braddock's Spring, near his home in Frederick, and Braddock, Pa., near the home of a grandfather, evoked the image of the British Redcoat who, long before, had passed that way. Mr. McCardell settled himself, afternoons after going off duty, at a desk in the library of the Peabody Institute. He followed where Braddock led, through the War of the Spanish Succession, the War of Jenkins' Ear, the French and Indian War, until it was time for Mr. McCardell to go off to his own war, against the Axis armies, as a correspondent. In 1946, five years later, he walked back into the Peabody Library, to find his desk and books still there, unmoved, ready for his use.

Assignments in Britain aided his research. Satisfactory evidence as to the date of Braddock's birth had eluded all previous scholarship, including the *Dictionary of National Biography*. One day in a church at walking distance from Fleet Street, Mr. McCardell asked to have a look at the baptismal register. There, toward the end of 1694, were the Braddocks: soldier father, mother, infant Edward. On the other hand, never was Mr. McCardell able to discover a likeness of Braddock made during his lifetime.

Later, after many an evening at the typewriter in his dining room, Mr. McCardell's text was written and rewritten and shored up by more than 2,000 footnotes. It made the rounds of the publishers. It was even discovered that the readers of several firms had been evaluating it with such casualness as to overlook the absence of half the manuscript. Appropriately, a Pittsburgh publisher came to Braddock's rescue, providing a handsome format and a punning title.

Ill-Starred General of course does not attempt to erase the smirch of defeat from Braddock's service record. Under rifle fire from a numerically far inferior party of Indians and French Canadians, Braddock and his officers ordered their men, all in their bright uniforms, to stand fast and to fire back, erect and close-packed, at a ground-and-tree hugging foe whom they couldn't see. The tradition of European military manuals was honored, rather than the counsel of Americans experienced in frontier warfare. Braddock personally, a short but stocky target as he rode here and there for 90 minutes, while four horses were shot from under him, invited his own death.

Historians have been hard on Braddock, making him out to have been hidebound, even downright incompetent. McCardell scrupulously abstains from editorializing. The bits of evidence which he has so painstakingly assembled add up to a much more prepossessing soldier. In a campaign likely to have daunted any general brought up on European tactics, Braddock did very well indeed, logistically, to maneuver a combat force so far into the undeveloped interior. His months in America were marred by wrangling with the provincial governments. Maryland, for one, failed dismally to furnish the supplies promised Braddock during his visits to Annapolis and Frederick and his stopover at Wills Creek or Fort Cumberland.

McCardell's grasp of the materials, primary and secondary, is masterly. The first half of his book, for lack of detail bearing directly on a man who spent many years in the dull routine of garrison duty, silhouettes him against the court life and international politics of the early Hanoverian era. The second half is the North American expedition, reconstructed in an amazing fullness of fact.

As narrator, McCardell commands a style that any number of biographers and historians could profitably envy. It is lean, supple, direct, with never a wasted adjective, never a muddy phrase, and never a semicolon. He uses no visible artifice, and yet the reader, as Braddock's men trudge along, experiences a very real tension.

It may be that school children will continue to deride him, that the *World Almanac* will go on referring to him as "Gen. Wm. Braddock." But to the historian and the serious student of history, the veteran commander who was "mortally wounded fighting bravely on a faraway wilderness frontier" will have new stature and dignity, thanks to the happy conclusion of McCardell's admirable undertaking.

JAMES H. BREADY

(Baltimore)
The Sunday Sun

Charles Evans Hughes and American Democratic Statesmanship. By DEXTER PERKINS. [The Library of American Biography, edited by Oscar Handlin]. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1956. xxiv, 200 pp. $3.50.

Hughes' role was that of a "conservative" liberal in a rapidly changing America—a man who went along with most of the adjustments made necessary by our emergence as an industrial and international power. His progressivism as governor of New York helped inaugurate needed reforms, yet his progressivism was considerably more restrained than that of LaFollette, Roosevelt, and others. As Secretary of State in the 1920's his actions toward Latin America, for example, foreshadowed the relaxation of our "Big Neighbor" policy, but it was a foreshadowing only. On the Supreme Court bench Hughes was responsible to a considerable extent for the changed tenor of decisions after 1937 which made possible the implementation of New Deal reforms. Yet his reputation as a "liberal judge" is certainly overshadowed by those of Holmes, Brandeis, Stone and Cardozo. Hughes, then, may not have taken a prominent lead in promoting the cause of what is today called liberalism. But the weight of his authority undoubtedly convinced many among the more conservative elements of society that changes were necessary. The importance of that function, and the integrity with which Hughes performed it, entitle him to the name of "statesman" in a middle-of-the-road nation like ours.

To the task of re-creating the life of this statesman, Professor Dexter Perkins brings a wealth of knowledge and keen powers of insight. Within the limits set by the biographical series of which this work is a part, he accomplishes his task well. The main defect of the book is its brevity. Surely no scholar could, with ease, compress into one hundred and ninety pages the story of a man whose public career spanned thirty-five momentous years. Professor Perkins is forced to skimp. The forty-three years of Hughes' life prior to the beginning of his public service in 1905 are virtually ignored. Little is said throughout of the subject's private life. Most troubling of all is the fact that the description of Hughes' record sometimes takes on the aspects of a catalogue. This, and the absence of footnotes, limits the book's usefulness for the specialist. For the purposes of the general reader and the student, on the other hand, such brevity may be an asset. Finally, it should be noted that the author interrupts the narrative from time to time, perhaps more directly than most scholars do, to inject his own evaluation of situations and personalities. Such interludes reveal more about Professor Perkins' than about the subject of the biography. Nevertheless, they are among the most interesting parts of the book—all of which is a tribute to the author's perspicacity, if not to that of Mr. Hughes.

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

Georgetown University

The Presidency of John Adams: The Collapse of Federalism, 1795-1800. By STEPHEN G. KURTZ. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957. 448 pp. $8.50.

With this book, Stephen G. Kurtz joins the small group of modern American scholars who have written about John Adams. There is no doubt that our second President has been neglected by the historians and any work which adds to our understanding of him is of considerable importance. This volume is directly concerned with the record of the Adams administration and the political struggles surrounding it. It is the authors' view that "the Adams record was not as disastrous to the nation or as strong a condemnation of his personal failings as our standard histories would have it." He offers evidence that Adams' run for the Presidency was stronger in 1800 than in 1796, and that he had actually gained in popularity during the four year period.

Kurtz attributes the decline of Federalism during the period 1795-1800 to the fundamental fact that the Party was not big enough for both Hamilton and Adams. Hamilton's control of key cabinet members and his attempts to lead the Party into foreign military adventures and domestic extremism forced Adams to break with him and his cohorts. In the process of doing so, he managed to avoid a ruinous foreign war and did much to give shape to the office of the Presidency as we know it today.

The organization of this book is somewhat at odds with the title. Nine of the seventeen chapters are concerned with events leading up to the Adams Administration. Most of this section deals with the effect of Jay's Treaty on the structure of political parties in the United States during the years 1795-1796. Kurtz is at his best in analyzing the Election of 1796, both on the state and national levels. His chapter on the political revolution in Pennsylvania is of particular value to students of political behavior during this period.

The organization of the executive branch of the Adams Administration is covered in three chapters. Adams' difficulty in getting qualified and loyal men to accept key positions is treated in some detail. It was in the area of personal relationship with associates and subordinates that most of Adams' more serious troubles developed. His apparent inability to act as a mediator among individuals in disagreement within his administration and in the Federalist Party cost him dearly.

It is worth noting that Kurtz considers the struggle over the nature and control of the army to be the most significant single issue during the four year period. It was this issue that brought about an irrevocable split between Adams and Hamilton and their followers. Kurtz also believes that the idea of a standing army may have been the decisive factor in the final overthrow of the Federalists in 1800.

Taking the book as a whole, certain observations seem in order. First, the author states that the work is both a study of political methodology and a record of the Adams Administration. The foreign policy side of

this record is covered in some detail, but such domestic matters as the Alien and Sedition Laws and fiscal policy are given rather limited treatment. In the vital area of the army controversy which Kurtz considers to have been the "*Bête Noir* of Federalism," two important manuscript collections do not appear in his bibliography. The James McHenry Papers at Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and the Library of Congress, contain important material concerning that Secretary of War and his dealings with Adams, Hamilton, and Washington. Many of these papers are not included in Bernard Steiners' excellent *Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* which the author used extensively.

The bibliography is quite adequate for the scope of the work and the author's evaluative comments should be helpful to students seeking orientation within this period. The appendices dealing with the electoral analysis of the election of 1796 are a helpful tool to the historian and political scientist. It is unfortunate that similar charts could not be included for the election of 1800.

The Presidency of John Adams cannot be substituted for either M. J. Dauer's *The Adams Federalists* (1953), or L. D. White's *The Federalists* (1948) as a standard work on the Adams Administration. Nevertheless, the book has value as a study of politics and politicians during the years 1795-1800 and should be useful to students of that period.

FRANKLIN R. MULLALY

Fort McHenry
National Monument

Chief Justice John Marshall: A Reappraisal. By W. MELVILLE JONES. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956. xviii, 195 pp. $3.00.

This collection of papers is written by scholars and for scholars, and the general public will find them heavy going. They were prepared for the bicentennial of our greatest Chief Justice, and discuss John Marshall's influence and contributions to jurisprudence and political theory, from various angles. That these were considerable, both in his own time, and right down to the present, there can be no slightest question, but the profundity of the various treatises limits their appeal largely to students of the Constitution and the Supreme Court, and the interplay between them.

These papers are definitely of value and a contribution to historians and those interested in the development of the relations between the three branches of our Government in the first third of the 19th century. However, one gets the impression that most of the papers amount to a study of a man's mind and thoughts, based on his writings a century and a quarter after his death, and as the result of the deepest research and thought. It is inferred, rather than said, that he was brilliant and conscientious, and that his genius, patriotism, determination and foresight were responsible for the development of our system of justice as we know

it today. One might wish, however, that the majority of the authors had concerned themselves more with his personality and human qualities, and less with his political philosophy, on which there is less than unanimity of opinion. To this reviewer, the most lucid and most readable part of the book is the foreword by Chief Justice Earl Warren.

H. Hamilton Hackney

Finksburg, Md.

Created Equal? The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Edited with an Introduction by Paul Angle. Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library Volume XXXIII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. Pp. xxxiii, 422. $7.50.

From June to October, 1858, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas stumped Illinois in a grueling campaign for a seat in the United States Senate. The speeches made by each have been for the first time in many years published and edited by Paul Angle with an excellent introduction which places them in their proper perspective. The result is a real contribution to American history.

The debates of a century ago dealt primarily with national issues. The two men considered such topics as the extension of slavery into the national territories, the status of the Negro, and the rights of each state to regulate his activities as they saw fit. The last of these three issues is just as alive and charged with emotion as it was in 1858.

Although Lincoln lost the election, the debates had an important bearing on the future course of history. They gave Lincoln a national reputation and helped to contribute to his election to the presidency two years later. Although Douglas won the Senate seat, Lincoln placed him in such an untenable position that he caused a split in his party and wrecked his chances in 1860. This book is a valuable source book for all students of the Civil War period.

Frank F. White, Jr.

Maryland Historical Society

The Gingerbread Age. A View of Victorian America. By John Maass. New York: Rinehart and Company, 1957. 224 pp. $7.95.

At the outset the author acknowledges that he is neither an architectural historian nor a scholar, but that he is an " amateur fancier of architecture." His great interest is in the presentation of reproductions of the architectures of the Victorian era in America. His hopes are on the impact of this pictorial material on his readers, or should we say viewers. It is this collection of prints, photographs and drawings, and the organization of them that is the important contribution of *The Gingerbread Age.* In-

terestingly, many of the photographs show buildings in a state of neglect, on the point of demolition. One case in point for Marylanders is the photograph of Wyman Villa shortly before the Johns Hopkins University tore down the once-proud house of the donor of its Homewood campus.

Maass' organization of his material into chronological sequence by chapters is reasonable and elucidating. His underlying theme that the development of American Victorian architecture represents a continuity rather than a break with the past is well taken. Somewhat questionable, however, is his inclusion of Richardson in the *discontinuity* brought on by the reign of the Ecole des Beaux Arts near the turn of the century.

The text and notes of the chapter "Unexplored Territory" are perhaps of greatest importance. This discriminating attention to the American Vernacular alone makes the book worthwhile. While the bibliography shows that the author has drunk deeply of the best scholarship of the period available, one must agree with him that this is not a scholarly work. It is, rather, a well organized and well presented guide to a recent architectural past which may yield great satisfaction to the thinking lay public.

ALEXANDER S. COCHRAN

Baltimore, Md.

The American Chair, 1630-1890. By MARION DAY IVERSON, with 175 Drawings by Ernest Donnelly. New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1957. xiii, 241 pp. $10.00.

The subject of this book, which the title presents with concise accuracy, is such an obvious choice that we are a little surprised that it has not been treated before. The chair, as a furniture form, is particularly well chosen to delineate the successive styles of design practiced in this country. In Europe there may be other forms, such as the commode, which sum up the stylistic aims of the significant periods, but here, with different tastes and perhaps more meager resources, the universal common denominator is surely the chair. Through Mrs. Iverson's chronological chapters, we can follow the way in which American joiners and turners followed and adapted the European fashions, as well as the vernacular types which they developed for their own countrymen. One of the most fascinating aspects of the story as outlined here is the way in which the vernacular of turned chairs, slat-backs, windsors and the like, carried on as a substratum "beneath" the fashionable current of foreign styles (Queen Anne, Chippendale, Hepplewhite-Sheraton, Neo-Classic, and the like) right down through the nineteenth century—essentially to our own day, if you wish. This is scarcely a novel observation, but it is one whose pertinence is made particularly clear by the organization of a book such as this one.

To provide a narrative thread of popular appeal for her story, Mrs. Iverson has chosen, whenever possible, chairs with some association with a known and historic individual—though she has never omitted a sig-

nificant phase or style just because of a lack of associative material. Thus many significant figures of American history are represented by their tangible possessions, from John Winthrop, Jr., down to Teddy Roosevelt, and a degree of successful dramatization of the stuff of living history is achieved. Many of these associations are fairly hypothetical, of course, resting on word-of-mouth and hearsay rather than documentation; but the author has tried to be as fair as possible in pointing this out in every case.

There are weaknesses in the approach described in the preceding paragraph, of course, but they are apt to trouble the specialist rather than the general reader, and the latter is not going to be seriously misled. An example of interest to the Baltimorean which might demonstrate this is Fig. 114, a carved Baltimore Hepplewhite chair described on p. 144 as one of three coming from Carrollton, and owned by Charles Carroll. Now these three chairs, which in reality follow closely a design in Sheraton's *Drawing-Book*, came from Doughoregan Manor, and cannot be proved to have ever been at Carrollton; they are but a few of a large number of pieces, tables as well as chairs, which do have strong Carroll family associations. But this, as we said, is for the specialist to worry about.

If we have a complaint about the book it is that, having chosen to include the Victorian period, Mrs. Iverson has treated it in a very summary manner. She might have been better advised, in our opinion at least, to pay more attention to this period, in which she might have been able to make a real contribution, instead of devoting a whole final chapter to "Chairs and Other Furniture Owned by George Washington," a subject and treatment rather out of key with the rest of the book, and deserving perhaps development in another context.

These are, however, mere quibbles about a book which is more than satisfactory, doing a job which needed to be done, in a way which should attract a large audience. The drawings by Ernest Donnelly, who also illustrated the third volume of Nutting's *Furniture Treasury*, are outstandingly successful. The book as a whole, in fact, is an extremely handsome production.

JAMES D. BRECKENRIDGE

The Baltimore Museum of Art

When The World Ended. The Diary of Emma LeConte. Edited by EARL SCHENCK MIERS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. xviii, 124 pp. $4.00.

Inside The Confederate Government. The Diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean. Edited by EDWARD YOUNGER. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. xxxvi, 240 pp. $5.00.

Emma LeConte was the seventeen year old daughter of a South Carolina College chemistry professor, Joseph LeConte, whose own journal *'Ware Sherman* has been a valued source for students of Sherman's campaigns in

the Carolinas. Her short account of the disintegration of Southern hopees, beginning December 31, 1864, in Columbia, S. C., and ending August 10, 1865, is interesting enough, on the day of Columbia's burning, the day that Emma's local world ended, but the month of April, 1865, when the world ended for almost all Confederates, is only briefly chronicled, a fact which lessens the impact of the diary greatly.

Curiously enough, the first four entries of the seven for April, '65, including that for Saturday, April 16, make no reference to the evacuation of Richmond and Lee's surrender—news which today would have been transmitted to the whole world in a matter of hours.

The most interesting item in the diary is Emma's emotional reaction to the news of Lincoln's assassination: " Hurrah Old Abe Lincoln has been assassinated! It may be abstractly wrong to be so jubilant, but I just can't help it. . . . The man we hated has met his proper fate."

Of much greater interest to students, scholars, and hobbyists alike is the Kean diary, which, with only one lapse from February to mid-October 1862, starts September 15, 1861, and ends in December, 1865. Kean, a well-informed, well-educated lawyer, first served in the ranks and as a junior officer before taking a position on the staff of General G. W. Randolph. After Randolph's appointment as Confederate Secretary of War, Kean was appointed Chief of the Bureau of War in April, 1862, and it is from this position that we see all the major characters of the Confederate government and most of the military commanders as well.

Kean is particularly outspoken against General J. E. B. Stuart, pointing out in numerous entries the harm Stuart had done by not being in the right place at the right time. Even Lee is criticized severely, particularly in relation to the Gettysburg campaign. In fact, as one reads along in the diary, the compounding of mistakes and calamities, both governmental and military, becomes so overwhelming that the reader cannot help wondering what held the Confederacy together for the last two years of its too-brief existence.

Kean, unlike many other heartsick diarists, continued his account well after the final dissolution of the Davis government, and in his keen analysis of the reasons for the fall of the Confederacy there is much to back up the interpretations of modern historians of the South. In conclusion, if this reviewer were to have only one southern diary on his shelf, the diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean would be it.

C. A. Porter Hopkins

Maryland Historical Society

NOTES AND QUERIES

SITE OF ALL SAINTS CHURCH, CALVERT COUNTY

There appears to be some disagreement on who donated the lot occupied by All Saints Church at Sunderland, Calvert County. In a leaflet distributed at the church we find:

The site was an acre of ground donated by Thomas Kemp from the property known as Kemp's Desire.

Mrs Bowie, in *Across the Years in Prince George's County writes*: [1]

In the vestry proceedings—we find proof that Thomas Hilleary I gave an acre of his tract of land, Kemp's Desire, which was requested by the vestry as a suitable location for the church. It is apparent, however, that Mr. Hilleary set a price of five thousand pounds of tobacco for the acre of land, which was declared 'unreasonable' and it is not set forth in the record what, if any price was paid.

A careful reading of the vestry records, together with a little information about Thomas Hilleary leads to a logical solution to the problem. Thomas Hilleary I came to Maryland in 1661 a man of limited means, but the opportunities of the new colony enabled him to advance his station considerably. After he had raised a family in Calvert County (probably at Bradford, rented from George Hardesty), his wife died and he moved to what is now Prince George's County. In 1684 he patented the Three Sisters and married as his second wife, Eleanor, daughter of Col. Thomas Sprigg, by whom he had three children, one of them Thomas II, born in 1686. Thomas I and family lived at the Three Sisters until he died in 1697.

Now, let us take another look at the vestry records:

April 30-1711: Ordered that Coll. Walter Smith, Mr John Leach Mr William Turner appeare before the next vestry To Testifie thier knowledge concerning the Title to the Church Land and Church Wardings pish [parish] to built a Church which conveyance is Recorded in Calvert County Record in Lib V folio 18

This entry is strong proof that the church had a title to the land in 1711, and that said title was on record. Since the land records of Calvert County were destroyed some years ago, we cannot refer to the record cited.

August 25[?], 1711: Mr Thos Hillary having at the Last Co^{ty} court promised to release his Right to the acre of Land Given to the pish by his father whereon the Church is built Appeared at this vestry and being Requested to Do the same Refused unless the Vestry would pay him the sum of five thousand pounds of tobacco which being unreasonable the Vestry Resolved to stand to the Title they Allready have and ordered Rich^{d} Dallam to pceed to move the Cor^{t} to Grant such further Evidence to be Taken & requisite for Confirming the pish Title to the acre of Land.

[1] (Richmond, 1947), p. 45.

Here we learn that it was Thomas II, son of the donor, who tried to collect an unreasonable sum for ground donated by his father, deceased for fourteen years. The price he put on the land was, in reality, ridiculously high, and it is doubted that he expected to collect it, since he was obviously aware of the Church's legal claim. In this connection, it is significant to note that he was reasonably well-off, being owner of at least two producing farms in the neighborhood, and other property in Prince George's County Let us return to the minutes of the vestry:

November 13, 1711: Ordered that Thomas Seager burn the Leaves Round the Church and Church yd. and att all Times perform his office as Sexton as formerly. Taking no notice to what Thos. Hillry forewarned him, To Dig Graves

Immediately after the above entry, but dated a week later, we find:

Robert Summar of Calvert County, Planter aged forty-five years Maketh Oath

That about Eighteen years since he was present at the running out of the Land called Kemps desire where the Parish Church of All Saints Parish Church is built. and then Thos. Hillary late of said county, deceased in his Depts. hearing did give one acre of sd. Land wr. on the Church stands for the use of the Church forever, and desired his neighbors to take Notice of it.

November 20th. 1711, sworn in open Court

E. Boteler, Clerk

Wm. Turner of C. C. Gent. aged 67 years or there about Maketh Oath

That about the time this county was divided into pishs. he was elected a vestry man of All Sts. Pish. and the Vestry then concluded that the convenient place to build the pish. Church on was a tract of Land called Kemps desire, then belonging to Mr. Thomas Hillary, who then freely gave the said pish. one acre of land part of the pish Church and Mr. Hillary was to have a pew in the Church, and when the pews were laid out Collo. Walter Smith took pte of the pew for Mr. Hillorys Family

November 20. 17-- Sworne in Open Court

E. Betler, Clk

These depositions indicate that the ground was given to the Church about 1694, three years before Hilleary I died. At the time he was living at Three Sisters, about thirty miles away, so it is unlikely that he intended to occupy the honorary pew. However, his daughter Elizabeth and her husband Robert Lyles still lived in the area, and undoubtedly Lyles and his family used the pew.

When the church lot was donated, Thomas II was eight years old. Three years later the father died and named him executor, with the admonition that he rely on the advice of Col. Walter Smith until he reached his majority. From the record little was accomplished until about 1708, when the Three Sisters was divided according to the will of Thomas I.

Thomas II was twenty-five at the time he made the outrageous and unfounded claim against the Church, apparently in the role of his father's executor, but several years after he had become of age. We may never know the reason for his demand, but it is not unlikely that some personal animosity played a part. The matter is not mentioned again in the minutes, so it is presumed that Hilleary dropped his claim. However his action is presumed to have prompted the church officials to initiate

the legend that the land was the gift of Thomas Kemp, rather than Thomas Hilleary.

FRANK L. HOWARD

SOCIETY EXPANDS STAFF

Mr. John D. Kilbourne, formerly director of the York County (Pa.) Historical Society, became full-time librarian of the Society on July 1. He succeeds Dr. Francis C. Haber, who in 1957 received the degree of Ph. D. from the Johns Hopkins University and has accepted an assistant professorship at the University of Florida.

Educated at William and Mary College where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, Mr. Kilbourne spent eight years at the York County Society and he became thoroughly familiar with all historical society activities. A native of York County, he is descended from Southern Maryland families. He served with the army in Germany and later as a civilian with the Adjutant General's office in Berlin. Seven years ago he completed the summer course at the Institute for Historical and Archival Management at Harvard. Author of various articles and reviews, he has been responsible for great progress in the work of the York County Society.

C. A. Porter Hopkins joins the *Magazine* as assistant editor. Mr. Hopkins holds the A. B. and M. A. from Johns Hopkins University, and for the past four years has taught English at Gilman School, Baltimore.

The U. S. Navy Department has announced plans to collect and publish the much scattered documents relating to the naval and maritime history of the American Revoluton. Mr. William Bell Clark will edit the work. The Navy Department states that a major contribution to the success of the project can be made by anyone possessing or knowing of unpublished letters, diaries, reports, ships' logs, and other Revolutionary War documents for the years 1775-1785, and who will make such material or information available to the Director of Naval History, Navy Department, Washington 25, D. C. Material submitted will be on a loan and will, of course, be returned.

Ogle—I am preparing a biographical account of Major Joseph Ogle of Frederick County and am interested in any information or material regarding him and his family.

FRANCIS H. HIBBARD
140 Mason St., San Francisco 2, Calif.

Hall—Information would be appreciated concerning the family of Hon. Christopher Hall of Kent County, Md. He was a member of the Maryland Legislature from 1732 through 1736, a Vestryman in 1725. His will dated 1743, and he died before 1746, mentions "dear daughter Margaret Wilson." Margaret Hall (d. 1766) married ante 1744 George Wilson and had five children: George, John, William, Mary and Sarah. She later married General St. Clair of the Revolutionary Army. Hatton in "Emigrants—Persons of Quality" lists "At James Cittye (Va.) and with the Corporation thereof 1623—Christopher Hall," is this a direct ancestor? Is the above Christopher the son of John Hall of Kent County who died about 1736 and had a wife Ann? Ann who?

Mrs. C. Raymond Cummins
33 South State St., Dover, Dela.

Gunpowder Neck—Information would be appreciated concerning records and bags of early Maryland gunning clubs, particularly the ducking clubs on Gunpowder Neck and the Western Shore.

C. A. Porter Hopkins
c/o The Md. Hist. Soc.

CONTRIBUTORS

John A. Kinnaman is chairman of the Department of History at Morris-Harvey College. He has spent the past summer doing research at the British Museum.

S. Sydney Bradford is director of the historical and archeological research for the restoration of Fort McHenry conducted by the National Park Service, Department of Interior.

William B. Marye is Corresponding Secretary of the Society and a frequent contributor of articles on local history.

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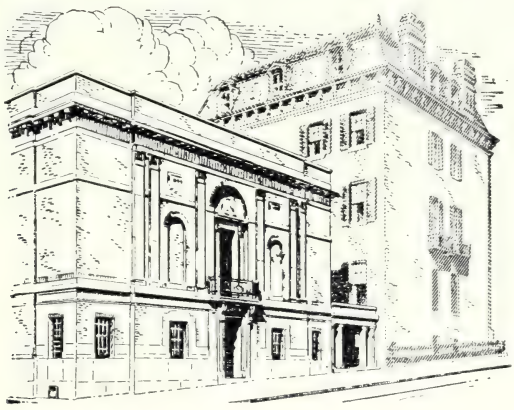

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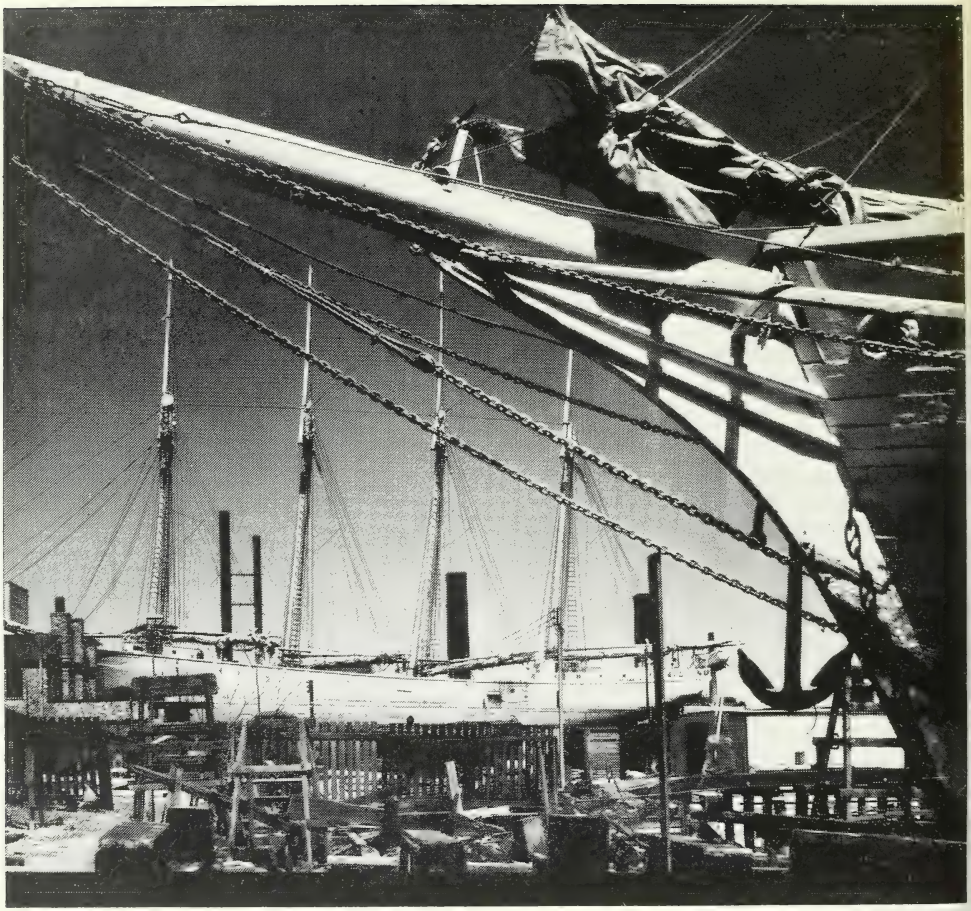

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE
December · 1958

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Peace ratified by the United States and Spain.— *April* 11.

Purchase of the Philippine Islands completed in Washington; price, $20,000,000.— *May* 1.

Admiral Schley was presented with a silver service in Baltimore.— *June* 21.

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Richard Walsh, *Editor*
C. A. Porter Hopkins, *Asst. Editor*

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THE *COMET* HARASSES THE BRITISH

Edited by FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

IN JULY, 1812, Captain Thomas Boyle sailed from Baltimore on the first of his three voyages in the private armed schooner *Comet* to win for himself the reputation now forgotten as one of the most daring figures in the annals of American naval history. For a privateersman to achieve that distinction was no mean accomplishment. Yet this honor fell to Captain Boyle who matched his ships successfully against regular British naval craft to become known as a man of extraordinary courage. He left such a trail of destruction behind him that by the time the war had ended, all England knew his prowess and respected him. He annoyed the enemy " wherever he chanced to steer . . . carrying dismay and terror to British trade and commerce," so that the *Comet* soon became one of the chief objects of civilian fear and naval search.[1]

The sources of information about Boyle's fabulous exploits are

[1] Edgar Stanton Maclay, *A History of American Privateers* (New York, 1899), p. 279; and John Phillips Cranwell and William Bowers Crane, *Men of Marque* (New York, 1940), p. 125.

a logbook,[2] *Niles' Register*,[3] and a contemporary newspaper account.[4] The logbook, which deals with the first two voyages, was kept by an officer who does not reveal his name. There is reason to believe, however, that he was Dr. James B. Stansbury, the *Comet's* surgeon who accompanied Boyle on his voyages.[5] The *Baltimore Patriot* published Boyle's letter describing his third voyage in its issue of April 4, 1814.[6]

Historians know very little about Thomas Boyle's life. Of his early life, there is no information except that he was born in Marblehead, Massachusetts, on June 29, 1775.[7] He came to Baltimore when he was very young, and at an early age he seems to have become a sailor. In 1794, he married a Baltimore girl, and thereafter he made that city his home. At the outbreak of the war in 1812, he took the *Comet* to sea and remained with her until 1814. In the latter year, he took charge of the *Chasseur* in which vessel he achieved his greatest renown.[8] In the *Chasseur*, Boyle "defied the most powerful navy the world had ever seen, and had the monumental effrontery to proclaim a blockade of Great Britain. Boyle and the *Comet* had been considered the epitome of privateering, but Boyle and the *Chasseur* were its apotheosis," comment Cranwell and Crane.[9] Following the close of the war, Boyle entered the merchant service. He died at sea on a voyage from Alvarado to Baltimore, on October 12, 1825.[10]

Boyle was but one of the many sea captains who, during the War of 1812, helped Baltimore to take the lead in fitting out armed vessels for use as privateers which did their full share of damage to British shipping.[11] This statement is not surprising for

[2] The logbook, owned by the Maryland Historical Society, was acquired in 1949 by purchase.

[3] *Niles' Weekly Register*, IV (March 27, 1813), pp. 71-72.

[4] *Baltimore Patriot*, April 4, 1814.

[5] The log contains entries relating to the sales of drugs, medicines, and store fixtures in 1837 in addition to the narrative of the *Comet's* two cruises. There is no other information available on Dr. Stansbury.

[6] The *Baltimore American* also published Captain Boyle's letter in its issue of April 6, 1814.

[7] Information furnished by the Office of Chief of Naval Operations, Naval History Division.

[8] The *Chasseur's* log was published in the *Md. Hist. Mag.*, I (1906), 168-180, 218-240.

[9] Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

[10] The *Baltimore Gazette* for November 24, 1825 carried the notice of Boyle's death.

[11] George Coggeshall, *History of American Privateers* (New York, 1856), p. 6.

at the declaration of war, because of the embargo, there were a large number of idle Baltimore seamen who could easily be enlisted for that type of service.[12] On July 4, 1812, a Baltimore newspaper announced that "several small, swift privateers will sail from the United States in a few days. Some have already been sent to sea, and many others of a larger class, better fitted and better equipped, will soon follow." [13] One of the vessels referred to was the *Comet*. The result was that "what had been a peaceful merchant marine was being transformed into a fleet of fast-sailing, hard-hitting commerce raiders." [14]

Because of British supremacy at sea, Americans relied more on their privateers to achieve naval victories than on their regular navy. The privateer existed almost solely for profit from the capture of enemy vessels wherever and whenever they could be found. She was designed primarily to prey on merchant shipping, sending those so captured into port, the owners selling the ships and cargoes for whatever prices they could bring.

The few American privateers which were captured amazed the British by their flimsy construction and poor armament. "Baltimore vessels of this class," comments Henry Adams, "came into favor long before the war because of their speed, quickness in handling, and economy during the experiences of twenty years of blockade running and evasion of cruisers." [15]

Thomas Boyle delighted in tantalizing the British. Whether he interrupted British Commerce, on the high seas, on the Spanish or Portuguese coasts, or in the English or Irish channels, made no difference to him. He likewise cared little whether other naval powers interfered or whether he caused all sorts of diplomatic incidents. He was so successful in all his efforts that he detected the vulnerable spot in the British armor: trade and local communications, which forced the British Navy to dissipate its strength and

[12] "In the United States every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in war with a commercial nation. We have tens of thousands of seamen, that, without it, would be destitute of the means of support, and useless to their country. Our national ships are too few to give employment to a twentieth part of them, or retaliate the acts of the enemy. But by licensing private armed vessels the whole naval force of the nation is truly brought to bear on the foe, and while the contest lasts, that it may have the speedier termination, let every individual contribute his mite, in the best way that he can, to distress and harass the enemy, and compel him to peace" (*Niles' Weekly Register*, II [August 15, 1812], p. 397.)

[13] Coggeshall, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[14] Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[15] Henry Adams, *The War of 1812* (Washington, 1944) p. 152.

to use its vessels for guarding convoys instead of for blockade duties.

Captain Boyle left Baltimore in the *Comet* on July 11, 1812, on his first cruise which lasted four months. He headed out to sea, and ranged without hindrance from Bermuda to Brazil. His initial cruise was relatively unsuccessful, even though he captured several vessels, manned them with prize crews and confiscated their cargoes. The *Comet* arrived back at Fort McHenry on October 6, after eighty-three days with Boyle boasting that he had not a man killed during the cruise, " and was never Chased the whole time." [16]

After a month's refitting, the *Comet* set out on her second cruise on November 24, 1812. Boyle headed for Pernambuco where he arrived on January 9, 1813. It was this second cruise which made Thomas Boyle famous. Not only did he completely outsail several enemy vessels and defeat with ease a Portuguese naval brig which was escorting two English ships bearing wheat to England, but he also took more than twenty prizes and engaged in a controversy with the governor at St. Bart's about his taking on wood and water while he refitted. Finding that he was becoming overburdened with prisoners, Boyle returned to Baltimore where he arrived on March 17, experiencing no difficulties in passing through the British blockade of the Chesapeake Bay.[17]

Following his return from his second cruise, Boyle underwent a seven month's lull in his privateering activities. From April 16 to September 18, 1813, the owners lent the *Comet* to the United States Navy. During this time, Boyle served with the *Comet* as a sailing master on commerce protection duty in Chesapeake Bay. Otherwise the *Comet* would have been forced to remain at her wharf because of the blockade of the Bay. Boyle seems only to have been engaged in dull and routine patrols watching and reporting on enemy activities during those seven months.

On October 20, Boyle once more evaded the blockading squadron and began his third cruise which " added enormously to his reputation if not his pocketbook." [18] For the next five months he

[16] " The Comet of Baltimore returned home during the present week, her cruise being out, with about 90 prisoners on board. She has captured several valuable vessels, and has not been chased during her cruise " (*Niles Weekly Register*, III [October 10, 1812], p. 94).

[17] *Niles' Weekly Register*, IV (March 27, 1813), p. 71.

[18] Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

operated once more in the West Indies, and as during his previous cruises, he harassed the British once more. The highlight of this cruise seems to have been his engagement with the larger ship *Hibernia*, following which Boyle put into Puerto Rico to refit. This action caused all sorts of diplomatic repercussions between England and Spain. At length, after "being chased during the time thirty-four times, by frigates and men of war brigs," he arrived at Beaufort, North Carolina, on March 19, 1814.[19] There he found instructions for him to return to Baltimore.

Leaving the *Comet* at Beaufort, Boyle took passage in a small vessel and returned to Baltimore. From there, he proceeded to New York where he took command of the *Chasseur*. New owners, meantime, had refitted the *Comet* and put her to sea once more under the command of a new captain.[20]

These contemporary accounts provide a full and detailed description of Thomas Boyle's cruises in the *Comet*. They also give much information on the successful challenging of British naval superiority by "a Yankee Comet." Boyle's part in the naval phases of the War of 1812, therefore, deserve more than passing attention. Certainly his activities had more than nuisance value. His contemporaries had the highest praise for him. Captain George Coggeshall, the privateer author of *The History of American Privateers*, and one of Boyle's contemporaries, describes the latter as a "dashing, brave man. . . . He evidently possessed many of the elements of a great man, for in him were blended the impetuous bravery of a Murat, with the prudence of a Wellington." He goes on to say that "had this gentleman been a Commander in the United States Navy, his fame and valor would have been lauded throughout our great republic; but as he only commanded a privateer, who speaks of him?" [21]

Boyle, fortunately, was not completely consigned to the limbo of forgotten heroes. The United States Navy recognized his importance by naming a World War II destroyer for him.[22] Thus,

[19] "The privateer Comet of Baltimore has arrived . . . from a cruise in which she made twenty prizes: the chief of which were destroyed after divesting them of their valuable effects" (*Niles' Weekly Register*, VI [March 26, 1814], p. 69.)

[20] Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

[21] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 125.

[22] The U. S. S. *Boyle* (DD-600), was launched in 1942. She joined the Atlantic Fleet as part of the invasion of North Africa. Returning to the United States in late November, 1942, she served off the East Coast and in the Caribbean until February, 1944. She took part in the invasion of Southern France in August, 1944.

Boyle was restored to his rightful place among our naval heroes and famous Americans.

Here begins Stansbury's narrative of the *Comet's* cruise.

On board the Privateer Schooner Comet of Balto. July 12th 1812, below Fort McHenry. At 3 P. M. got underway with several Balto. Privateer Schooners. July 15th at 11 A. M. left Cape Henry all in good health and Spirits for a Three Months Cruise. Wind S & S. E. 17th Boarded Brig Lamprey Prize to the United States Frigate Essex. 22nd Boarded Ship Active of Philadelphia from Lisbon. Same day Portugee Schr. St. Franciscus. 26th, Lat. 28, 49 Long. 59.10. At half past meridian on a wind Standing to N. & E. to get the wind of a Ship then in sight on the same Tack. At 1 P. M. Tacked Ship to the South'd. At half past 2 P. M. could not weather the Ship. Tacked the Ship to the Eastward. At 3 P. M. tacked to the South'd, Ship bearing S. W. by S. At 20 Minutes past 3 abreast of the Ship about a quarter of a Mile distant & She hoisted English Colours. Refd. Foresail & put the Schooner under fighting sail. All hands to quarters & Immediately bore down upon him. At 25 minutes past 3 P. M. he fired the first Shot which passed over us when a general engagement took place which lasted till 37 Minutes past 3 when down came the long boasted pride of Old England to a Yankee Comet, without doing us any damage except a few grape Shot through our Sails & several which lodged in the waist. Ceased firing and on boarding found her to be the Ship Henry of Hull near Four Hundred Tons burthen, commanded by James Dryden from St. Croix, bound to London.[23] Her crew 20 in number, her metal 4 Twelves & Six- Six pounders. Cargo as per bills of lading 83 Hogsheads 6 Tierces,[24] 70 Barrells of Sugar, 19160 lbs. Fustic,[25] 3640 lbs. lignum vita, 13 pipes Maddira Wine. [*sic.*] Finding her to be a lawful prize, took on board the Comet the first and second officer, & Thirteen seamen, sent on board the Ship Seth Long as prize master.[26] Edward Carey Masters Mate and nine seamen.[27] Permitted Captn. Dryden & four Boys to remain in the Prize.[28]

Augt. 4th. Brig Madaira of Portsmouth N. H. from Cape D. Verds [Verde] bound Home. Lat. 28.57 Long.: [blank in the original] At 8 A. M. made a sail bearing S. S. E. Standing to the North'd. At 11

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and in the summer of 1945, she participated in the Okinawa Campaign. She was placed in reserve in March, 1946, after receiving four Battle Stars.

[23] St. Croix is an island in the Virgin Islands group.

[24] "Tierces" refers to a cask intermediate in size between the barrel and the hogshead.

[25] "Fustic" was a type of dyestuff.

[26] Seth Long died at sea off Pernambuco, January 10, 1815, while he was prize master aboard the *Comet*. *Baltimore American*, April 23, 1815.

[27] Edward Carey is further unidentified.

[28] The notice of the *Henry's* arrival appeared in *Niles' Register* for August 15, 1812. "The vessel and cargo will produce a clear profit to the captors of more than $100,000, and the duties to be paid to the United States will amount to nearly $50,000."

Tacked Ship to the Windward of the vessel about one mile distance. She appeared to be a large Ship. Bore away & run upon her and prepared for action. At 20 Minutes after 12 within Three Hundred yards of her, she hoisted English Colours. Fired a shot at us and prepared for action, when a general engagement Commenced which continued very warm. At 35 Minutes past meridien our fore topsail braces shot away, attempted several times to board the ship but was prevented from the masterly manner which she was manouvered. Kept up a continual firing broadside after broadside and at intervals, a peal of musquetry from the marines. Ship makes a more feeble resistance. At 40 Minutes past 1 P. M. she struck her colours to the Comet after being cut all to pieces scarcely a rope being entire. Mr. William Cathell and a marine Thomas Cadle the only persons on board wounded, the former very severely in the arm & leg &c from the blowing up of his powder horn while in the act of primeing [*sic.*] his gun (which hung fire so long he was of opinion she would not go off) the latter from a musket ball in the corner of the left Eye.[29] The Comet has not rec'd any very material damage except one grape shot which passed between wind & water, and a few lodged in the Hull & a number through the sails. Boarded the ship found one man dead, the Carpenter, and seven wounded amongst the latter the Captn. or Master, some of them very dangerous. On boarding she proved to be the ship Hopewell of London from Surinam for London, C. J. Lye Commander, William Anderson Master. She mounted Six Eighteens & Eight Sixes (Caronades) and Twenty five men including officers. Three Hundred & forty-six Tons burthen. Cargo as per bills of lading 710 Hogsheads of Sugar, 54 Ditto Molasses, 111 Bales of Cotton, 34 Casks of Coffee, 150 Dags Ditto, 74 bags of Cocoa. Permitted Wm. Anderson (master), Two Boys & Three wounded seamen to remain in the Prize Ship. Sent on board the Hopewell John Hooper Prize Master & Eleven Seamen & ordered her for the United States.[30] 24 Boarded Ship Comet of New Port, R. I. from St. Ubes.[31] Put on board C. J. Lye Commander & Supercargo of the English Ship Hopewell.

26. Spoke Privateer Schr. Swordfish of Gloucester on a Cruise who the day before fell in with Two English Merchant Ships engaged them after exchanging [*sic.*] a few Broad Sides had one man killed & one wounded. Sheired [*sic.*] off. The Comet immediately went in pursuit of them but could not come athwart them.

Sept. 2nd. Lat. 38.30. Long: 48.30. At 6 A. M. Discovered a sail standing in the Northern quarter. It was being calm. At half past 8, a light breeze from the Southard. Set all sail could pack and immediately gave chase. At Meridian discovered she was a Brig Standing to the Eastward

[29] Both Cathell and Cadle are further unidentified.

[30] "The Ship Hopewell, . . . captured by the Comet of Baltimore, [was] sent into port after an obstinate engagement. . . . The Hopewell is worth $150,000. Her late captain bears the most honorable testimony of the bravery of the crew of the Comet" (*Niles' Register*, III [September 12, 1812], p. 30-31.)

[31] St. Ubes is a city in Portugal south of Lisbon.

under a press of sail. At 3 P. M. she hoisted English Colours. We prepared for action immediately. Gave him a gun & run up the American flag. At 10 Minutes past 3 P. M. within Pistol shot of him to windward. Gave him part of a Broadside. With a few shot from the musquetry, and down came the English flag. Not a gun being fired from the Brig. On boarding found her to be the Brig Industry of London from Surinam bound to London. Peter Holden Master. Mounting Ten Guns—Nines & Sixes. Thirteen men on board including officers. One Hundred and Seventy-five Tons burthen. Cargo as per bills of Lading 195 Hogsheads of Sugar, 50 Hogshead Molasses, 32 Bales of Cotton, 10 Casks Coffee, 184 Bags of Coffee, 100 Ditto Cocoa, 8 Pipes Old Madaira [*sic.*] Wine, 2 Hogsheads ditto ditto. Took on board the first officer & seven seamen. Permitted the Captn. & four boys to remain in the Prize, one of which had his Thigh Bone fractured & otherwise considerably Injured from a fall from the Top-gallant yard this morning Inst. before they discovered the Comet in chase. Sent on board Solomon McCombs Prize Master & Six seamen to navigate her to the United States.[32]

14th. Boarded Schr. Resolution, Linzee Master from Boston bound to Cadiz.

16th. Brig Nancy & Kate, Oliver Master from Philadelphia bound to Lisbon.

18th. Lat. 33.00. Long: 5700. At 2 P. M. discovered a Sail to the S. W. Standing to the N. E. a heavy squall came over at that time. However, made all the sail we could in Chase. At half past 2 P. M. tacked ship to the windward of the Chase which appeared to be a large armed ship. Bore away & run down upon her. At 3 P. M. hauled upon a wind again to Compleately [*sic.*] reconoitre and made every preparation for action. Set the Fore topsail, reef'd and bore down again under fighting sail. At 20 Minutes past 3 she fired a Shot at us & hoisted English Colours. Had six courses brailed [*sic.*] up & appeared ready for action. At 45 Minutes past 3 he gave us three Cheers, we bearing down upon his weather quarter. At nearly the same time within musket shot. Bore away athwart his stern and commenced firing upon him from the great guns & musquetry. At 55 minutes past 3 P. M. down came King George's Ensign, he haveing [*sic.*] fired only Two guns into us, out boat and boarded her. She proved to be the Ship John of Liverpool mounting Fourteen Guns Twelves & Sixes, and Thirty one men, burthen 364 Tons. Cargo as per Bills of Lading, 223 Hogsheads Sugar, 3 Barrells ditto, 105 Puncheons of Rum, 742 Bales of Cotton, 18 Tierces of Coffee, 35 Barrells ditto, 129 Bags ditto, 18 Pieces Hardwood, 3 Tierces Copper, 2 Boilers of ditto, 14 Pieces ditto. They had one man killed and several wounded. Ship very much cut in her sails and Rigging. The Comet rec'd one shot in her foremast—which has dangerously wounded it. Sent Purnel Austen Prize

[32] "The Comet overhauled every vessel she saw; yet made only four prizes, but they were worth 400,000 dollars, and have all safely arrived" (*Niles' Register,* III [October 17, 1812], p. 110.)

Master on board with 12 Men to take her to U. S.[33] Permitted the former Captn. four Passengers & Three boys to remain in the Prize. We then made all sail for the United States and arrived safe at Fort McHenry 6th. of Octr. after a pleasant Cruse of 83 Days, and had not a man killed during the cruise, and was never chased during the whole time.

The owners of the Comet have determined to fit her out again with all possible expedition for a second cruise.

The Comet's prizes have all arrived. The three Ships in this Port & the Brig in Beaufort, North Carolina.[34]

* * *

Private armed schooner Comet of Baltimore. Thomas Boyle Comdg. Sailed from Cape Henry 24th Novr. bound on a cruise. On the 26th gave chase. Came up with & spoke the Schr. [left blank in the original]. from Norfolk to St. Barts.[35] Boarded 3rd Decr. Spanish schr. Donna-Maria, from Hallifax to Havana. 9th a Portuguese ship of 18 guns—from Pernambuco to Oporto. 14th a Spanish ship from Monte Video to the Mediterranean.

Janry. 9th. Made Pernambuco. Spoke a Coaster from Pernambuco, who informed us of some English vessels to sail in a few days from there. 11th spoke Portuguese Brig Wasa from St. Michaels to Pernambuco.[36]

12th, at 1 P. M. discovered four vessels standing out of Pernambuco, laid by to give them an opportunity of getting off shore & to cut them off. At 3 P. M. they were upon a wind standing S. E. and about 6 leagues from the land. Bore up & made all sail in Chase. At 5 we were coming up with them very fast. At 6 discovered one to be a very large man of war Brig. Called all hands to quarters. Loaded the Guns with round and grape. Cleared the deck, and got all ready for action. At 7 P. M. close to the Chase. Hoisted the American Ensign & sheired [*sic.*] close up to the Man of War Brig, who had hoisted Portuguese colors. He hailed & said he would send his boat on board. Accordingly, we hove too, and received his boat. The officer said that the Brig was a Portuguese National vessel, mounting Twenty Thirty two pounders and one hundred & sixty five men, that the others were English vessels bound to Europe, under his protection, and that I must not molest them. Captn. Boyle informed him he was an American Cruizer, and insisted upon his seeing his authority to capture English vessels, which he did. He then informed him that he would capture those vessels if he could, that we were upon the high seas, the common high way of all nations, that he had no right to protect them, that the high seas of right belonged to

[33] The ship *John* was worth "at least $150,000 [and was] sent into Baltimore by the Comet of that port" (*Niles' Register*, III [October 17, 1812], p. 109.)

[34] Cranwell and Crane estimate that Boyle's captures exceeded $400,000 which enabled him to purchase an interest in the *Comet*, Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[35] St. Barts or St. Bartholomew is a French West Indian island, located about 130 miles northwest of Guadeloupe.

[36] St. Michael's probably refers to the island in the Azores group and not to the Talbot County town of that name.

America as much as to any other power in the world, and that at all events (under those considerations) he was determined to exercise the authority he had, and capture those vessels if he could. The Portuguese officer observed he should be sorry if any thing disagreeable took place, that they were ordered to protect them and should do so. Captn. Boyle answered him that he should equally feel regret that any thing disagreeable should occur, that if it did, he would be the aggressor, as he did not intend to fire on him first. But that if he did attempt to oppose him or fire on us when trying to take those English vessels, we must try our respective strengths as we were well prepared for such an event, and should not shrink from it. He then informed us those vessels were armed and very strong. Captn. B. observed he valued their strength but little, and should very soon put it to the test. He then went on board the Man of War Brig to communicate the conversation, with a promise of again returning. However, he did not. Finding he did not mean to return again, Captn. B. spoke the man of war immediately and asked him if he intended sending his boat back. He said he would speak his convoy, and request to send our boat on board. Captn. B. entertaining some suspicion of his motives for thus asking for our boat, told him he did not make a practice of sending his boat from the vessel after night, and should not do it now, and again told him his determination very distinctly, so that he should not misunderstand us. The English vessels were ahead of us, consisting of a ship of 14 Guns and 2 Brigs of 10 Guns each, making in all a force of 54 Guns. Made all sail immediately for them. Came up with the Ship (the three in fact were close together), hailed her & ordered them to back the main top sail. He gave little or no answer, haveing [*sic.*] quick way at the time shot ahead, but told him we should be along-side again in a few minutes, and if he did not obey the orders, we would pour a broadside onto him. After a few minutes tacked. The man of war close after us. This was about half past 8 P. M. We then ran along side the ship, one of the Brigs being close to her, and opened a broadside upon them both. We were all carrying a Crowd of Canvas, and from superior sailing was frequently obliged to tack, and should have profitted much by it had the man of war not been so close, who now opened a heavy fire upon us with round & Grape, which we returned, having now the whole force to contend with. We stuck as close as possible to the English vessels. They frequently seperating [*sic.*] to give the man of war a chance and we as frequently poured the whole broadsides into them and at times the man of war, who kept up a constant fire at us, when his guns would bear. About 11 P. M. the ship surrendered being all cut to pieces and rendered unmanageable. Directly after the Brig Bowes, our present prize surrendered. She was very much disabled also. We then proceeded to take possession of her, and [as] the boat was passing [,] the man of War gave us a broadside, and was very near sinking the boat, which was obliged to return. We then began again at the man of war, who sheired off to some distance. We followed a little and then made the third surrender, she being also cut to pieces. We was [*sic.*] now again proceeding to take possession of the Bowes,

when we again spoke the ship, the Capt. of which was ordered to follow us, who said his ship was in a sinking condition, having many shot holes between wind & water, and not a rope but was cut away. However he would for his own safty if possible follow us. At half past 1 A. M. took possession of the Bowes & manned her out. After this the man of war fired a broadside into her and passed her. The moon was now down and it became quite dark & squally, which caused us to seperate [*sic.*], except the man of war, with whom we were frequently exchanging broadsides. At 2 A. M. he stood to the Southard, it being dark. We were out of sight of the other brig & ship which was in a southerly direction. We now thought it most prudent to take care of the prize till day light, the Captn. of which informed us the ship & other Brig were loaded with Wheat from Rio [de] Janario [*sic.*], bound to Europe, had sailed from there under the protection of this Portuguese Man of War Brig, and had put into Pernambuco for Water, etc., and that the Captn. of the Ship before he struck informed him that he was in a sinking condition, cut all to pieces, and so was the other Brig. At day light we were close to the Prize. The man of War standing for us, we immediately hove about and stood for him or rather for the Brig & ship that was in the same direction. He tacked likewise, and shewed signals for the Convoy to make the first port, knowing the Ship & Brig to be in a sinking condition & from the perishable nature of their cargoes which must inevitably be very much damaged. They being of little value and not in a situation to send to the United States I concluded not to take possession of them but to watch their manouvres. They both bore up before the wind for the land I followed for some time, taking particular notice of them. It appeared in company with the man of war which appeared also to be much damaged. there were great exertions made to keep the ship from sinking, which with the Brig, settled in the water. The man of war appeared at times to render them assistance. The ship was called the George of Liverpool, Captn. Wilson. The Brig was called the Gambier of Hull, Captn. Smith.[37]

At 10 A. M. went in pursuit of the Bowes, and at meridian spoke her. I have since learned from several vessels which I boarded from Pernambuco, that the man of war brig was damaged very much.[38] Amongst the wounded was the Captn. who had his thigh shot off & has since died of his wound, besides having her first Lieutenant [and] 25 Men killed. The ships masts scarcely lasted to carry her into Pernambuco. Her cargo was nearly all damaged. She was dismantled & obliged to get new topsides put into her. The Brig was nearly in the same situation. The greater part of her cargo being damaged, and it was with difficulty they kept her from sinking before they reached Pernambuco Harbour.

January 17th. Was chased by a Frigate & Schr. Could not make out what nation, after chasing about 4 Hours. Finding we beat them, they gave over the chase.

18th. Land of Pernambuco in sight. Boarded a Portuguese Brig from the

[37] Hull, Yorkshire, England.
[38] Pernambuco is a state in Brazil.

river St. Franciscus to Pernambuco.[39] Same day a Portuguese Ship from Lisbon to Pernambuco, and the Schr. Grand Sachem from Philadelphia to Pernambuco, Gamble Master, out 41 days.

20th. Spoke a large Portuguese Ship of 24 Guns (all brass) from Lisbon, 44 days out for Pernambuco.

21st. Boarded a Portuguese ship showing 40 guns (30 of them wood) from Lisbon to Pernambuco.

22nd. Spoke the Portuguese Sloop of War Calipso of 22 Guns.

23rd. Latt. 12.46 S. boarded a Portuguese Brig from St. Salvadore [Salvador] to Gibralter [*sic.*].[40]

24th. Lat: 13.15 S. Gave chase to a Ship that proved to be a Two Decker Man of War, upon which discovery we made off.

26th. In sight of St. Salvadore [Salvador]. Was chased by a 74, a Sloop of War, a Man of War Brig and schooner. Crowded all sail, supposing them to be English, and escaped from them during the night.

29th. At 5 A. M. discovered a sail to Leward, standing to the Southard & Westward. Tacked Ship & made sail in pursuit of her. At 8 A. M. discovered her to be a tolerbale [*sic.*] large ship, coming up with the chase very perceivably. At 9 jibed [*sic.*] the main boom over & set the lower Studding-sail, in fact, all the sail we could crowd. At 10 A. M. appeared to be gaining on the Chase, who had packed on a Crowd of Canvas to endeavour to get from us. At 11 A. M. coming up with her very fast she hoisted English colors. Still a crowd of canvas set before the wind. At 1/4 past meridian hoisted our colors, gave the Ship a bow Gun. Yawed off, & then then whole broad Side, in hopes to cut away some of his rigging & disable him, as he sailed very fast, & to prevent a Chase too far to Leward. Although we were long Gun shot off, [*sic.*] In a few minutes we cut away his studding sail, haulyards, &c. and closed with him fast, when he began to engage us also. We now reserved our fire to close with him as quick as possible. At 30 minutes P. M. we were within long musket of him, and opened the broadside with the Great Guns and musketry at the same time upon him. At 40 minutes P. M. she struck her Colours, being much damaged in her sails & rigging, we having one man killed (John Dent) & two wounded, one with the loss of his leg.[41] Board[ed] the ship immediately. She proved to be the Ship Adelphi, of Aberdeen, from Liverpool bound to Bahia.[42] Loaded with Salt & Dry Goods, mounting Eight Eighteen pounders, commanded by David Raitt.[43] Sent on board Lieut. Cathel & a parcel of men to repair damages. Took out the prisoners. At the same time sent William Bartlett,

[39] Stansbury probably refers here to the San Francisco River of Argentina.
[40] San Salvador is an island in the Bahamas group.
[41] John Dent is further unidentified.
[42] Aberdeen is located in northwestern Scotland, while Bahia is a state in Brazil.
[43] David Raitt is further unidentified.

Prize Master, and 11 Men on board her to take her to the United States.[44] At 7 P. M. parted company with her.

February 5th. Spoke a large Portuguese Ship of 16 Guns, 35 days from Rio [de] Janeiro, bound to Oporto.[45]

[At this point, Stansbury's journal is interrupted to insert this section from *Niles' Register*, not included in the original.] [46]

"On the 6th of Feb. at day light, discovered two brigs, to leeward, the island of St. Johns bearing NNW, distant two leagues; made all sail in chase, and called all hands to quarters, discovered the nearest to be an armed brig; we coming up with her very fast; at 6, she hoisted English colors, fired a gun, and hauled them down again; took possession of her immediately; she proved to be the brig, Alexis, of Greenock, from Demarara, loaded with sugar, rum, cotton, and coffee, mounting 10 guns; [47] sent Mr. Ball and six men on board to take her to the U. States, and made all possible sail after the other; [48] at 8 A. M. discovered a man of war brig, upon a wind standing to the S. E. apparently from St. Thomas; found out by the prisoners that they were part of a convoy of nine sail from Demarara, bound to St. Thomas; that the greater part of the convoy had got in the night; that the man of war brig then in sight was the same that convoyed them, she was called the Swaggerer, at 9 A. M. hoisted our colours and prepared to give the brig we were in chace [*sic.*] of, a broadside, when she hoisted her colors and gave us her whole broadside of great guns, which we instantly returned, and down came her colors; after she had struck, they cut away her topsail; and jib, haulyards, &c, in addition to the damage we had done by our shot, which was very considerable; sent Mr. Cathell, 1st Lieutenant, and some men to make sail and repair the rigging as quick as possible; took out the most of the prisoners with the boat I had kept belonging to the Alexis, and sent Mr. Giplin, prize master, and seven men in the boat to relieve Mr. Cathell; [49] the brig by this time had made sail, and I filled away with the Comet; the boat being at a little distance from us, ordered it alongside for the purpose of gaining the brig sooner, but unfortunately in getting alongside they sunk the boat and she was lost; fortunately no one was drowned; the man of war by this time had gained much on us; I thought it imprudent to make any delay, and ordered Mr. Cathell to make the best of his way through between St. Johns and St. Thomas, as the only possible means of saving the brig from recapture, and in the meanwhile I would with the Comet keep close to the man of war brig to divert his attention till he could escape. The brig captured was called the Dominica Packet of

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[44] William Bartlett is further unidentified.

[45] Cranwell and Crane say Boyle placed his prisoners aboard the Portuguese brig which is unnamed, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[46] *Niles' Weekly Register*, IV (March 27, 1813), pp. 71-72.

[47] Demerara is a river in British Guinea.

[48] Mr. Ball is further unidentified.

[49] Mr. Giplin is further unidentified.

Liverpool, from Demarara to St. Thomas; loaded with rum, sugar, cotton, and coffee, mounting 10 guns; I accordingly hove about and lay by to give the man of war brig an opportunity of approaching me, which he did to within gun shot; I soon discovered we were very superior in sailing; of course could perplex him as I pleased, by either approaching or running away from him, as the circumstances required; we kept him in play in this manner till meridian, when I found Mr. Cathell had got through the Passage, who I had ordered to steer to the north and I would endeavor, if possible, to fall in with him at meridian—made all sail upon the wind, for the purpose of going round St. John's; and out of the passage between Tortola and St. Johns; the Swaggerer carrying all sail she could pack in chace [*sic.*] of us; at 2 P. M. had dropped him full four miles to leeward; at the same time discovered a sail upon our weather bow, and shortly after could discover her to be a schooner coming before the wind; at 3 P. M. was close to her; fired several muskets at her, and she hove too; put Mr. Wild, prize master, and six men on board, took out the prisoners, and ordered him through the passage between Tortola and St. John's; she was the schooner Jame, from Demarara to St. Thomas, loaded with rum, sugar, and coffee, the man of war brig carrying everything in chace [*sic.*] though far to leeward." [50]

[The following is Stansbury's narrative once more resumed.]

7th. Boarded the Brig [left blank] (Portuguese) One day from Pernambuco to Angola.

12th. Anchored at the Island of Fernando [de] Norohna for the purpose of getting wood and water.[51] The Privateer Yankee, of Bristol, left there two days before, the sea being very rough, and dangerous landing, and the weather looking very ugly. Got under way on the 13th without being able to wood or water.

14th. Brot to & spoke a Portuguese Brig from Bahia to Gibralter. [*sic.*] Had spoke an American Frigate three days before, 28 to windward of St. Bartholomews. Was chased by his B. M. Frigate Surprise for 6 Hours. Out sailed her with ease. At 3 A. M. on the 1st of March, made the Island of St. Bartholomews, & at 5 A. M. came to anchor in the Harbour of St. Barts. At 7 A. M. was ordered out by the Governor who refused us the privilege of being supplyed [*sic.*] with either wood or water. Captn. Boyle represented to him he was fearful his Foremast was sprung in consequence of which he permitted us to anchor again for a few hours to examine it. Meanwhile we made arrangements to get off wood & water in the Night unobserved. At 4 P. M. got under weigh & stood out of the Harbour, the Governor refusing to let us stay longer. At 8 P. M. fired a shot at a small sloop & shooner [*sic.*] privateers (English) that were within Gun shot of us to windward. They immediately stood in shore for shelter. At 8 P. M. ran into the mouth of St. Barts Harbour & made signals that would be known to the Americans there, and the

[50] Boyle here possibly means Tortuga an island near Haiti.

[51] Fernando de Norohna is an island in the South Atlantic approximately 125 miles off the coast of Brazil.

boats began to come off with wood & water. We lying to or Tacking in the mouth of the Harbour, received a number of puncheons of water on deck, with some wood, which lumbered us very much, and put the decks into perfect confusion. At 11 P. M. the[y] absolutely refused to bring us any more water. Several vessels had just before come out of the harbour and run to Leward, and I presume must have been captured, as I heard several discharges of Musketry, after the boats refused to bring us any more water. The Captn. of the Brig Newton of Balto took the remainder on his deck, and got under weigh, in company with an hermaphrodite Brig, and ran out of the harbour, being bound to Balto. and for the purpose of delivering me the water in the morning at sea, and requested me to protect him during the night which had been previously agreed upon, and which we intended doing. We all then bore up together the decks were very much lumbered with water casks and wood. I turned all hands too to start water & clear the deck. Got up thirty muskets and as many Cutlasses as a precaution to be ready in a moment if anything appeared. About 20 Minutes after we bore away several muskets were fired at us from a vessel upon our starboard quarter, we being then under Jib & Topsail only, so as not to run away from the vessels in Company, who could barely keep company with us under that sail, and thinking these muskets were fired from a very small privateer that we expected was dogging us. Took very little notice of them, till after a few minutes, we discovered it to be a large Schr. Privateer called the Luisa of St. Kitts.[52] Close on board of us, it must be observed it was tolerably dark. The guns were immediately cleared away—and gave him a whole broadside, (well told) damaged him very much. He jibed ship immediately in confusion, not expecting such a reception I presume. Could observe his sails & rigging very much disordered, and hear a considerable noise on board. In fact, heard a great number of shot strike him. Captn. Boyle would have persuaded him, not wishing to protect the vessels with him & fearful of their being captured if he left them, determined him not to follow him, so kept company with them the remaining part of the night. At day light made Dog Keys.[53] At 8 A. M. made Sombero.[54] At the same time a large Man of War Brig stretching from under it towards us, from which causes we were not able to get the remainder of our Wood & water from the Newton. Hauled upon the wind immediately to reconnoitre, the Newton following as well as she could. At 9 A. M. a small sloop, supposed to be a tender to the Man of War Brig stood towards us from the windward of Sombero. She tacked close to leeward of us, and stood on the same tack with us. Fearful that his intention was to cut off the Newton when opportunity offered, who had fallen considerably to Leward of our wake, gave him one of the long nines, and he bore up close of the Island, and then hauled his wind again. The two Brigs finding the man of war approach them fast, they bore up, and we saw

[52] St. Kitts is located in the Leeward Islands.
[53] Possibly Dog Rocks in the Virgin Islands.
[54] Sombero is an island in the Anegada Channel. It belongs to Great Britain.

them a long time together. Continued to dog them till meridian, when they all appeared to run to leward.

Nothing very material occurred till the 4th.

At 4 P. M. discovered a Sloop close in with the N. W. end of St. Croix, beating to windward. Made all possible sail in chase. At 5 P. M. made a Tack close into the shore. The sloop did also close into the breakers. Fired several Muskets at him. He immediately bore up. Out boat. Sent Lieut. Cathel[l] & 11 Men well armed in her in case he hauled his wind, and the Comet bore up—& commenced firing at him from the great Guns, in hopes by the boat or schr, to get possession of him. The sea being rough, & he close in with the breakers, would do but little execution with the guns. He escaped by running round the west end of the Island. She was a fine Bermuda built sloop, loaded with sugar. Agreeable to the Information which we had received, gave up the Chase, and hove to for the boat to come on board. Received the boat and proceeded round the west end of the Island and to the Southward. At 2 A. M. tacked ship. At day light made a sail directly to windward of us. Made all sail upon a wind in chase. At 6 A. M. discovered it to be a ship upon a wind, trying to weather the east-end of St. Croix. At 8 found we gained upon the chase, and discovered it to be an English merchantman armed. At 9 she tacked again and weathered to the southard. At half past 9 A. M. she tacked again & weathered the east end of the Island. We could not weather. Made several tacks, and weathered away. Crowded all sail, but the ship had got near the harbour of Base end.[55] At 11 A. M. gave up the Chase, the ship having received a Pilot, and got within the reefs.

[Here Stansbury's logbook comes to an abrupt end. Boyle, meanwhile, commenced his course to the northward and he arrived off Cape Henry on the night of March 17. Evading the blockade, he arrived in Baltimore shortly thereafter. There now occurs the delay until fall during which interval Boyle served with the Navy.]

* * *

Sailed from Cape Henry on the morning of the 20th of Oct. [1813] after passing in the night, all the enemy's squadron, laying in the bay, bound on a cruise in company with the priv[ateer] Revenge, of Baltimore.[56] On the 31st of Oct. boarded the Sp[anish] ship Preciosa, fr. Cadiz to Havana. Nov. 1st, boarded the Sp[anish] brig Fernandez, from Malaga to Havana;[57] the same morning parted co. with the Revenge. Nov. 2, boarded the Sw[edish] brig Lucetta, from Boston to St. Barts,

[55] Probably Basse-Terre, located on St. Kitts.

[56] The Editor of the *Patriot* introduced Boyle's letter with these words: "The following very interesting extracts from the journal of the privateer COMET, of this port, have been politely communicated by Captain Boyle, her commander, to the Editors of the *Baltimore Patriot*, for publication. The enterprize, skill and courage which mark this distinguished commander, and his gallant crew, cannot but give the highest pleasure to every honest American, by this new exhibition of them" (*Baltimore Patriot*, April 4, 1814.)

[57] Malaga is a city in southern Spain.

Nov. 3, to Windward of St. Barts, boarded the Prussian ship Dei Biene from Gottenburg to Havana;[58] same day, lost one man overboard that drowned. On the 5th Nov. to the northward of Sombrere, [*sic.*] boarded the Sp[anish] sch[ooner] Nuestra Senor del Cormen, from Teneriffe to Havana.[59] On the 6th, chased sail to the northward of Saba, which proved to be an English frigate outsailed her with ease.[60] On the 9th. Nov. at night, near the harbour of St. Thomas, took the English sloop Experiment, of Guadaloupe, in ballast, and destroyed her. Nov. 11, was chased to the north of St. Thomas' by a man of war brig, outsailed her. Nov. 13, just off Sail Rock Passage, discovered the St. Thomas convoy, about sixty sail of large ships under convoy of the Marlborough 74, Venus frigate, and three large men of war brigs. The frigate and brigs gave chase to me, and after two hours chasing, gave over chace [*sic.*] same day, sent on shore at Tortola on parole, the captain and part of the crew of the Experiment, and went in chase of the convoy. On the 14th, discovered the convoy, and was chased off by the frigate and brigs—kept in sight of the convoy, and regularly chased daily, till the 21st. sometimes very disadvantageous to us, and very advantageous to them, but always succeeded in out-sailing them—Nov. 21st. lat-, boarded the Sw[edish] sch. Carlescrona, from St. Barts to Bath. From the 22d to the 27th, was chased every day by the frigate and brigs of the convoy. 27, the frigate in sight, took the English sch[ooner] Messenger of St. Johns, from St. Vincents to St. Johns; loaded with rum and molasses; manned and ordered her for the U. S. Nov. 28th, was again chased; same day, boarded the Russian ship Hazard, from Liverpool to Amelia Island. 30th, was chased again, and so continued daily till the 2d. Dec. when, finding it impossible for one single vessel to do anything with the convoy, they being so strongly guarded, and would frequently chase me 40 miles from them, I concluded to abandon the chasing of them any further. On the 3d. Dec. recaptured the sch[ooner] Industry, of N. York, that had been captured by B. M. brig Recruit, proceeding from Charleston to N. York; ordered her for a port in the U. States.

The Comet then proceeded cruising away to the S. E. of Bermuda, progressing as far to the eastward, as the long. of 33, 00, W. and then southward and westward, as far as the coast of Surrinam, where she arrived on the 28th Dec. the same day chased a brig into Surrinam river, but could not succeed in getting her, she having got under cover of the battery there. 29th Dec. to leeward of Surrinam, took the English sloop Little Cherub, of Surrinam, of small burthen, having only Plantains in, took some of them out, gave up the sloop and paroled all the prisoners I had on board, and sent them on shore to Surrinam; same day, took the Eng[lish] brig Hannah, of Bermuda, loaded with lumber; ransomed her. Jan. 2d. to leeward of Barbadoes, took the Eng[lish] sch[oone]r Jackman, of Barbadoes; loaded with lumber and a few cases of wine, took out the wine. Jan. 3d. took to leeward of Martinique, the Eng[lish] sloop

[58] Gotenberg is a city in Sweden.
[59] Tenerife is the largest of the Canary Islands.
[60] Saba Island is located in the Leward Group.

Industry, of St. Lucia, in ballast; ransomed the Jackman, and put the crews of both vessels on board of her on parole, and sent her away; same day destroyed the Industry.

Jan. 4, took the English brig Enterprize, of St. Kitts, from Grenada, bound to Guadaloupe, having on board a few barrels of bread and some specie. Took out some of the bread, the specie, and several other small articles of provision kind, and ransomed her. My reasons for ransoming and not destroying this vessel, was because she had the yellow fever on board. But I wish it made publicly known that the commander of the English vessel is an American, named JOHN HOWE, a man, I believe, well known to be unfriendly to his native country, and not long from it—a native of the State of Connecticut, I understand, and is to all appearances a great scoundrel. Jan. 6, took the English sloop Mary, of St. Kitts, loaded with plantation stores, &c. manned her for the U. S.—since foundered at sea. Jan. 8, took his Britannic Majesty's schooner Vigilant, John Benson, commander, tender to Ad. Laforey, sent her for the U. S. Same day I parolled and sent to St. Barts, the crews of the Vigilant and Mary. Jan. 9, chased a brig all night and fired several shots at her—in the morning at day light within gun shot of her, fired again at her, when she rounded to, hauled upon the wind and made all sail in chase of us. We then found her to be a man of war brig that had been trying to decoy us. We exchanged several shot—outsailed her easy, and she bore up before the wind.

Jan 11, per long, discovered a sail, made all necessary sail in chase. At 3 P. M. discovered her to be a ship, running before the wind, to appearance tolerably large, carrying a great crowd of sail. At 6 P. M. coming up with the chase fast, called all hands to quarters and got all clear for action. Could discover yellow sides and ports, which I took to be false ports. At 7 P. M. the ship began to take in sail. She took in her sky sails, royals, topgallant and lower studding sails. We took in sail also and furled the squaresail, going so directly before the wind had not an opportunity of seeing his broadside, distinctly. At half past 7 luffed up and gave him one of our bow guns, which he immediately returned with his stern chasers. We then closed and in a few minutes the action begun and was warmly contested on both sides—at 20 minutes before 10 P. M. we had all the running rigging, with the boom topinlift, shot away—was compelled to haul off to repair—At this time we had one killed and a number wounded. The ship had boarding nettings, reaching nearly up to her tops.

In a very short time we had repaired the damages and recommenced close action again, within half pistol shot, when he again shot away the boom top-in-lift. I was compelled to work the main boom with the peake haulyards. Made several attempts to board him but was not able to effect it. We kept up a continual fire on both sides; I shot across his bows and raked him several times, within 20 yards of him, but his tremendous height prevented much execution. At half past 12, midnight, fresh breeze; he now attempted to run us down, and so far succeeded as to run his jib-boom into our mainsail, a little below the gaft, and come with his bows against our stern, without doing any damage to our hull,

though he tore our mainsail all to pieces, broke the main gaft and unshipped the main boom. In this situation we attempted to board him, but could not succeed, he having quick way, and her height so great our man could scarcely touch the bobstays from our taffil rail; though notwithstanding we had several of our men almost on her bobstays. We shot several of his men who were on his bowsprit and forecastle, and took two of their boarding pikes from them as they reached down at us. He appeared to have many men on his forecastle, and splinter nets from his mainmast aft; hauled off again to repair, and bend another mainsail. At 1 A. M. had completely repaired and commenced close action again, which lasted till 3 A. M. at which time we had our jib stay, main shrouds, boom topinlift and fore gaft haulyards shot away—his fire appeared considerably slackened, our braces, topsail halyards and main topsail sheets were also shot away, and the schooner was rendered almost unmanageable, many of the breechings of the guns parted. I thought proper to haul off till daylight; began repairing but found we were much more cut than I expected. The ship was about two miles from us at daylight, could count 14 ports on one side distinctly, guns in most of them. I determined to refit completely before I would again renew the action. The Islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas, St. John and Tortola in sight and at very little distance, I found the ship running before the wind, would drive me close to the harbour of St. Thomas, before I could refit, and renew the action, and my not being in a situation to stand a chase, should any men of war make their appearance, and from information I understood several were at St. Thomas, I very reluctantly abandoned the idea of again renewing the action.

We had 3 men killed and 16 wounded, myself among the number, at the commencement of the action, (tho' slightly). Mr. Edward Black, prize master, Mr. John Baney, masters mate and Thomas Selma, carpenter, were the three killed. Six men badly wounded, the master of marines amongst them, and 10 slightly wounded. Jan. 13th, close in under Spanish Town, Virgin Gorda, sent the boat armed to cut out several small vessels laying there—we destroyed one at anchor, and brought out two under a brisk fire of musketry from the inhabitants on shore, that had collected in a body. Both vessels were in ballast—we burnt one (a la Chesapeake) and sunk the other. On the 15th arrived at the port of St. Johns, Porto Rico, to repair and get wood, water, and provisions—was very kindly received by the Governor and allowed every privilege of hospitality I would expect.

On the 23 Jan. sailed from Porto Rico, and on the 27th took the English schooner Venus of St. Thomas, from Laguira, loaded with coffee, cotton and cocoa, sent her for the U. States; the same day close under the Island of St. Croix, took the English sloop General Spooner of St. Croix; this vessel we took with our boat armed, close to the shore, the crew having deserted her a little before our boat boarded her; ordered this vessel for the U. S. Jan. 26th was chased across Drake's Bay, close to the town of Spanish Town, (Virgin Gorda) by a large man-of-war brig,

[61] La Guira is in Venezuela.

carrying 20 guns, out sailed her with ease, and at midnight same night run back under Spanish Town and cut out a small sloop laying there. Jan. 29th we paroled the crew of the Venus, and sent them in the sloop to St. Thomas. Feb. 1, gave chase to two in the evening; next morning a very heavy gale of wind, kept sight of the chase, tho' far ahead of them and perhaps unseen by them, it blowing very heavy, too much so as to aproach them with safety until the 3d in the morning, being to windward of them I bore down to reconnoitre, when I discovered them to be one a man-of-war brig convoying the other, that was a packet—upon trial found I could outsail them, with ease, edged close down to them within gun shot, showed the American flag and gave them a gun, which each of them returned. We exchanged several shot and then seperated [*sic.*]. The man of war brig was called the Wasp. I then shaped my course southerly.

Feb. 6th. off Saba, fell in with the priveteer Mars of New York, capt. Josiah Ingersoll. We cruized several days together in company and was chased twice very close but outsailed the chase. While in company we destroyed the sloop Endeavour of Anguilla, in ballast; parted company with him on the 12th, to the southward of St. Croix, he going to leeward for some repairs. He had taken one prize during his cruize. On the 13th gave chase to a brig, at 8 P. M. that evening while in chase sprung the foremast very badly, was compelled to abandon the chase, take in all sail and endeavour to secure the mast in the best possible manner. On the 16th. Feb. took the English sloop General Pale of Antigua from St. Thomas to Laguira loaded with dry goods and wines, took out the dry goods and manned the sloop for New-Orleans. On the 19th arrived at St. Johns, Porto Rico, where we were compelled to go to refit and secure our mast—the evening before the Pique frigate was off that harbor looking for the Comet. On the 24th sailed from Porto Rico and on the 28th of Feb. off Curacoa took the English schooner St. John of Curacoa bound to St. Thomas loaded with salt, cocoa, hides, and goat skins, took out the cocoa and goat skins. 29th took the English schr. Enterprize off Curacoa in ballast; ransomed the St. John, paroled the crews of both vessels and then sunk the Enterprize. On the 5th March in the Mona Passage was chased by a large man of war brig and outsailed her with ease.[62]

On the 19th, arrived at this place after a cruize of 5 months, and being chased during the time thirty-four times, by frigates and men-of-war brigs, but always outsailed them with ease.[63] The Admiral on the leeward Island station, offered considerable reward for the Comet, as being the

[62] " American Prizes: nine vessels captured by the Comet of Baltimore, divested of their valuable articles, and sunk. The Comet is stated to have a handsome amount in cash and rich goods on board. Besides the above, she captured and manned four prizes—one of which has arrived. She had a terrible battle with the ship Hibernia of 800 tons, 22 guns, and a large complement of men, but was beaten off. The fight lasted about 8 hours. The great height and strength of the ship probably saved her. The privateer had 3 men killed and 16 wounded. The Comet put into Porto Rico [Puerto Rico] to refit, and the Hibernia has arrived at St. Thomas' both much injured " (*Niles' Register*, V [February 26, 1814], p. 430.)

[63] " The privateers Comet and Chasseur of Baltimore, with other vessels belong-

greatest plague to him or any vessel ever on those seas, but directed his smallest class of gun-vessels and schooners to always run from her.[64]

List of prizes taken and destroyed during the Comet's present cruise.

Sloop Experiment, of Guadaloupe, in ballast, destroyed.
The schooner Messenger, of New York, recaptured, sent to the U. S.
Schooner Industry of New York, recaptured, sent to the U. S.
Schooner Little Cherub, of Surrinam, sent with prisoners on parole.
Brig Hannah, of Bermuda, ransomed.
Schooner Jackman, of Barbadoes, do.
Sloop Industry, of Barbadoes, do.
Brig Enterprize of St. Kitts, ransomed.
Sloop Mary, of do. sent to the U. S.
Sch Vigilant, tender to Adm. Laforey, sent to U. States.
Three sch[ooner]s sunk, burnt and destroyed at Spanish Town.
Sch[ooner] Venus, of St. Thomas, sent to U. States.
Sloop General Spooner, of St. Croix, sent to U. States.
Sloop Experiment, of Tortola, released with prisoners on parole.
Sloop Endeavour of Anguella, destroyed.
Sloop General Wale, of Antigua, sent to New-Orleans. [*sic.*]
Schr. St. John of Curacoa, ransomed.
Sch[ooner] Enterprize, of ditto destroyed.

Making in the whole TWENTY SAIL taken, burnt, destroyed and sent to the United States.

THOMAS BOYLE

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ing to this port, are doing a great business in the West Indies. It is stated that the former has taken nineteen prizes, one of which was a gun brig belonging to "his majesty." The Comet has been into port of Tortola, and cut out several vessels. The West Indies swarms with our privateers" (*Niles' Register*, VI [March 26, 1814], p. 69.)

[64] "The privateer schr. Comet of Baltimore, Thomas Boyle, Esq. commander, arrived at Beaufort, N. C. on the 19th inst. after a cruise of five months, in which as usual, she has done immense damage to the enemy's commerce. From Mr. James B. Stansbury, Surgeon of the Comet, who arrived in town on Saturday night last, from Beaufort, we learn that the Comet has captured during this cruize, Twenty sail of the enemy's vessels; 7 of which were manned and ordered for the United States, 4 ransomed and the rest destroyed. Of those ordered in, 3 have arrived at Wilmington, N. C., one of which was a tender to the British Adm. *Laforey*. The Comet had a severe engagement with the English Letter of Marque Ship Hibernia, of 22 guns, close in with the Island of St. Thomas, in the night of the 10th of Jan. and would certainly have captured her, as she was discovered at day light to be completely cut up in her hull and rigging; but both vessels were then so near in the enemy's harbor that Capt. Boyle was obliged to haul off without delay. In this action, the Comet had 3 men killed. The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained, but by appearances it must have been very great.

The Comet's cruizing ground has been chiefly among the Leeward Island of the W. Indies, where her extraordinary and successful enterprize has kept the enemy in a perpetual state of alarm. Scarcely a day passed that some of his Majesty's cruisers were not despatched after her, but they returned with one story:—'they saw her, but could not *catch* her.' The merchants of St. Thomas subscribed a large reward for capture, but to no purpose; the *Saucy Comet* still continued to capture their vessels, in the very mouths of their harbors, and under the very guns of their forts and men of war. Except the famous privateer *True Blooded Yankee*, the Comet has done more injury to the commerce of the enemy since the war, than any of our cruizers" (*Baltimore Patriot*, April 1, 1814.)

COVER PICTURE

The original painting of the encounter between the *Star* and the *Surprize* is in the Peabody Museum of Salem. The following account of their battle, is taken from *Niles Weekly Register*, VIII (Mar.-Sept., 1815), 109:

1484. East India ship Star, captured by the same, as per the following extract from her log book: "Jan. 28, lat. 24, 10, long. 35, 50, saw a sail on our lee quarter and gave chase. At 11 A. M. got out the sweeps and swept toward the chase. At 45 minutes past meridian, being within half gun shot of the chase, which showed English colors, commenced action with her. At intervals we used sweeps, so as to get along side. The action then continued uninterrupted on the side of the enemy, and at times suspended on ours, until quarter past two, when we had gained a position across his stern, and being ready to give him a broadside and board, he struck his colors. The prize proved to be the British ship Star, of 8 12 pounders, and 26 men; she was from Batavia, bound to London, with a cargo of coffee, sugar, cinnamon, camphor, sago, nankeens, tortoise shell, &c. The Star had one man killed and one wounded, several shot in her hull, and received considerable damage in her spars, sails and rigging. We had several shot through the sails, one in the foremast and one in the foretopmast; but no personal injury. We put two prize masters and 18 men on board, and commenced taking out part of the cargo and repairing damages—29th, we were this day employed in taking goods out of the Star."

This valuable prize was parted with a little way off the coast on the 26th February, in a snow storm. The Surprize has arrived at New-York, with a cargo valued at $150,000. Dec. 24, she arrived in the outward harbor of Brest; fired a salute, which was answered by 11 guns from the French admiral's ship. Jan. 9th, sailed from Brest—14th, was chased by a ship of war for several hours; she fired 100 shot at us, but we escaped in the night.

The Star arrived at New-York on the 28th February. Her cargo consisted of 1180 bags sugar, 5021 bags coffee, 45 tubs camphor, 297 bags sago, 224 cwt. Sapan wood, 22 bales nankees, 83 cases cinnamon, and 45 cases tortoise shells. The whole worth about $300,000. It is said that this vessel really belonged to a member of a certain "committee of grievances" that recently visited Washington City. If it be so, she is doubly to be valued.

A BELGIAN ÉMIGRÉE LOOKS AT AMERICA IN THE EARLY NATIONAL PERIOD

By Joseph T. Durkin, S. J.

TO hospitable Maryland there came, sometime in 1794, a Belgian nobleman named Henri Joseph Stier, with his family. M. Stier, as he would often remind one, was a "member of the Equestrian Order and of the States General of the Province of Antwerp." He had been denounced as an émigrée by the French forces of the Revolution then occupying his native land, and had suffered the confiscation of his estates. Buying land near Bladensburg, he soon was operating a moderately prosperous farm which he called Riverdale. On his return to a pacified Belgium in 1802 he left in America his two married daughters: Isabell, the elder, who was now Madame Jean Michel Van Havre; and Rosalie, who had become in 1799 the wife of George, son of Benedict Calvert, of Mount Airy, Prince George's County.[1]

Rosalie Calvert, now the mistress of Riverdale, had chosen to spend the rest of her life in the United States; but she always viewed her adopted country a bit warily.

America, she conceded, had some good points. Her husband was certainly prospering, not only as a farmer but also as an investor in the rapidly-advancing industrial and financial activities of the area.[2] She admitted that the country had some excellent

[1] The parents of Henri Joseph Stier (1743-1821) were Albert Jean Stier (1701-1759) and Hélène de Labistraste (1717-1787). The latter, after her husband's death, obtained from the Empress Maria Theresa for her eldest son Jean François Stier, the title of Baron de Stier, "with the ornament of two flying pennants to the family coat of arms hereunto added." The Baron de Stier died without male issue in 1800. Henri Joseph married Marie Louise Peeters (1748-1804). From this union are descended the following branches: Charles Jean Stier married to Eugénie Van Erthorn; Isabell Marie Stier married to Jean Michel Van Havre, also a Member of the Equestrian Order and of the Estates General of the Province of Antwerp; Rosalie Eugenie Stier married to George Calvert. "Genealogy of the Stier Family," Some Letters of Mrs. George Calvert to Her Brother and other Relatives in Belgium, 1797-1819, with a Few Other Family Letters Connected with the Above, Ms, Georgetown University Archives.

[2] Rosalie to her brother Charles, Riverdale, July 23, 1810. This and the subse-

colleges and schools.[3] The Philadelphia theatre compared favorably with that of Europe.[4] She must have found many other features of American life agreeable, for her sister writes of her: " She affects to think the society and customs here infinitely preferable. It is true that she has caught the spirit of the land much more than we others, which is perhaps an advantage for her. In any event, I think she would be more attractive if she were less American! " [5]

Yet this description of her attitude is hardly correct. She never really seemed to feel at home on this side of the Atlantic. She handled America as one of her aristocratic forebears might have touched with fastidious finger tips an imitation Sèvres. From this ambivalent outlook her letters to her family derive a special interest.

There are features of the new land that definitely do not please Rosalie. She thinks that society in Washington is " very inferior." This, she believes, is due to the fact that most of the Government officials are Democrats and " people of low extraction." [6] Nor, apparently, do the followers of Jefferson have a monopoly on bad manners. Included in Rosalie's letter book is her brother-in-law's account of an encounter with Justice Chase:

On leaving Baltimore the last person to enter the stage was a huge man with a stentorian voice. Behold Justice incarnate! He was Chase, one of the most prominent judges of Maryland, and the greatest cart-horse I ever knew! He landed himself in front of me and on top of me, and I had to turn sideways and thrust my elbow in his back. The man having evidently had the lion's share everywhere, did not find me so complaisant and took exception to my posture. I replied spiritedly that I was in my right place and he should confine himself to his. If there had been a retort to this the discussion would have grown heated, but he did not allow me to continue. " Never mind, never mind," was his reply. However he did not change his posture, and it may have been through antipathy to his profession that I called his attention to my discomfort. Finally he complied with my request, but woe to my pleas before the Supreme Court! [7]

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quent letters used in this study are taken from the collection previously mentioned. Unless otherwise noted the place from which the letters are written is Riverdale. In some instances the correspondent in dating the letter indicates only the month and year.

[3] *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1809.

[4] *Ibid.*, May 5, 1808.

[5] Isabell (Madame Van Havre) to Charles, n. p., Mar. 1, 1803.

[6] Rosalie to Charles, Jan. 1807.

[7] Jean Michel Van Havre to Charles, Annapolis, Nov. 23, 1797.

After such experiences as this it was probably easier for Rosalie's relatives to follow her injunction, " One must differentiate oneself a little from the mob, in order to be respected by them." [8]

Rosalie does not like the manners of the American young girls.[9] This unfavorable opinion she does not develop; she seems even to contradict it in an earlier report on the modesty of female dress in America. She contrasts the " clinging " style of costume of France with the more restrained American type: " In this more virtuous land only the contours are perceived through filmy batiste—a subtler fashion." [10] (The reward of such moderation is suggested negatively by the fate of one Betsy Cook, who was brought to death's door by a cold caught at a ball where she wore a " Greek dress.") [11]

The moral propriety of American ladies is further indicated by another incident reported by M. Van Havre. On the docket of the Maryland Assembly was an appeal for divorce in a marital case marked by some particularly spectacular circumstances. As the proceedings began the delegates noticed that the gallery was largely feminine, " of an inferior sort." The case was postponed while the ladies were escorted beyond earshot.[12]

To Rosalie, the American manner of serving dinners is inferior to that of the French. Here meats and vegetables are served together. One has not time to eat sufficiently before half the dishes are cold, so one must hurry to swallow everything as if one had not dined for a month. Rosalie primly lays down the law: " Nothing cold should come on for the first course, and the rotis before the stews." [13]

Yet, Rosalie in a postscript to these culinary observations, shows how she is being affected by American ideas: " As in this country everyone does as he likes I am going to introduce quite a new mode. I shall take the best fashions from the different

[8] Rosalie to Charles, Jan. 1807.
[9] *Ibid.*, April 1, 1809.
[10] *Ibid.*, Mount Alban, Mar. 7, 1802.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] M. Van Havre to Henri Joseph Stier, Annapolis, Sept. 1797.
[13] Rosalie to Charles, Dec. 1, 1806.—Rosalie's prescription for keeping the courses separate is obviously opposed to that of another American gourmet. Says Huckleberry Finn, with regard to the way the widow Douglas served meals: " There warn't really anything the matter with them [the widow's victuals.] That is, nothing only everything was cooked by itself. In a barrel of odds and ends it is different; things get mixed up, and the juice kind of swaps around, and the things go better " (Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* [New York, 1956], p. 2.)

countries." [14] Although she did not realize it, she was applying in a limited field the typical American formula for progress.

Indeed there appears in her letters at times a pride in the material advances that were being made in America. "You have no idea," she confides to her brother in the mid-summer of 1810, "how this country has improved since you left [in 1802]. We have all the luxury of Europe. . . . In the towns the change is astonishing. . . ." [15] And, shortly afterward: "Come and see what we are doing. You would be astonished with the changes such a few years have wrought in customs as well as in breeding, etc. We have advanced a whole century in five years time." [16] But, she adds, "We . . . have lost that simplicity which was worth far more." [17] She is concerned at what she considers the greatest failing of the Americans—their heartlessness. They do not seem to feel anything deeply and are too prudent and reasonable to be lovable.[18]

Deep-rooted in Rosalie's mind is a distrust of the political stability of the United States. (It must be remembered that she is a thorough-going Federalist who could never reconcile herself to the outlook and policies of the party of Jefferson.) She writes towards the end of 1808, while the embargo is in force: "We are alarmed from time to time about the national bonds. People dare to speak openly of the dissolution of the union of the States. I am often anxious on this subject. . . . Perhaps I am a false prophet . . . but it appears very certain that a government such as this can last only a short time. Every year they change something, the eastern States become daily more bitter against the southern States, and the latter instead of consolidating them [*sic*] do all they can to widen the breach. . . . If Madison continues the same system as Jefferson, we shall be on the brink of civil war." [19]

[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.*, July 23, 1810.
[16] *Ibid.*, 1811, n. m
[17] *Ibid.*, July 23, 1810.
[18] *Ibid.*, Jan. 1807, n. d.—See, however, the statement of Alexis de Tocqueville: "The Americans . . . show with complacency how an enlightened regard for themselves constantly prompts them to assist one another and inclines them willingly to sacrifice a portion of their time and property to the welfare of the state. . . . Each American knows when to sacrifice some of his private interests to save the rest. . . ." (*Democracy in America,* Phillips Bradley, ed., 2 vol. [New York, 1951], II, 122-123.)
[19] *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1808.

A few months later she is still pessimistic. Madison, she grieves, is a "wretched" President and "one of those wavering weak characters" who will do as much harm as his predecessors. The government and the Federal Union cannot exist without a respectable navy, and the Democrats are opposed to such a fighting force. The country has reached an alarming crisis. Congress is enacting laws which she is unable to enforce, and is obliged to restrict them afterwards, only to substitute equally bad ones. Our flag is being insulted on the high seas by England and France. And all this is the result of the administration of "that wretched Jefferson." [20]

It is Rosalie's conviction that the source of the country's troubles is the bitter strife between the two parties, which are divided on sectional lines.[21]—"It is absolutely necessary that we should smother party feuds . . . or they will destroy us in the end." [22]

As the War of 1812 draws near, Rosalie's apprehensions increase. Early in 1811 she fears that a revolution is imminent.[23] A few months later she has even graver misgivings:

> I cannot conceal from you [she is writing to her sister, Madame Van Havre] that my fears as to the stability of our constitution augment every moment. I foresee an inevitable revolution and I fear its near approach. Do not think these idle crotchets; the best informed and most weighty people are of my opinion, and it is that of the most prominent Senators and Members of Congress. A war with England which our government will provoke will be the prelude, and it is to be anticipated that the Eastern States will put themselves under the protection of that power. What will then become of the Southern States? They will be either torn asunder by anarchy or fall prey to Napoleon.[24]

The war came, and the nation survived it. Rosalie breathes some sighs of relief in early 1815, but she is still worrying. If, she thinks, peace had not been concluded, the national bonds and all the banks would have "gone to nothing." If now the country could get rid of the Democratic administration and have a President of the Federalist party, economic recovery would ensue. Meanwhile, the people are being taxed unbearably. It is Rosalie's firm conviction that "if the Democratic party continues to rule, a dissolution of the Union will be the result sooner or later." [25]

[20] *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1809. [21] *Ibid.* [22] *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1809.
[23] Rosalie to Madame Van Havre, date not indicated, but certainly, as indicated by context, sometime before April 1, 1811.
[24] *Ibid.*, July 15, 1811.
[25] Rosalie to Charles, March 10, 1815.

However, while the Republic stood, Rosalie and her family were determined to get the most out of it. The Stiers—including Henri Joseph and his son, both now living in Belgium—were active and constant investors in United States government bonds and private United States banks and corporations. Rosalie's letters are a useful commentary on the participation of European private capital in the attractive though often perilous financial enterprises of the new country.

Her father and brother use Rosalie as their intermediary in buying United States government bonds and stock in the Bank of the United States.[26] She reports to Charles in the late summer of 1809 that there are now on the market no 6% interest bearing bonds, but that there will probably be such available soon. (The shrewd Henri Joseph recognized a good thing when he saw it. On his side of the Atlantic, 6% bonds were about as scarce as politically-successful Bourbons.) The observant Rosalie has also discovered a private bank in Washington that may provide a few rich returns. She suggests that they take a chance with it with a part of their February dividends.[27]

Charles seems to prefer the Bank of the United States for his own speculations.[28] By his orders Rosalie ploughs back into more stock purchases in that institution his dividends of the following month.[29]

Rosalie possessed, apparently, a streak of the long-shot gambler. She is not satisfied with a 6% return from the generally safer Government bonds, but wishes to take a flyer with private banks as they give an even higher interest.[30] Many of these latter were the notorious " wild cat " institutions whose dangerous operations it was one of the primary functions of the Bank of the United States to control. Rosalie however is willing to take the risk for the reward.

The financial negotiations of the Stiers suffered a jar in one instance, with the chief inconvenience falling on Rosalie's husband.

The story began in the fall of 1810 when Charles sent $8,500 worth of his 8% United States Government bonds to George

[26] This bank was a private one, though specially favored by the Government.
[27] Rosalie to Charles, Sept. 8, 1809.
[28] *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1809.
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] *Ibid.*, April, 1811.

Calvert to be cashed at the Treasury Office in Philadelphia. The crucial mistake of Charles was that he mailed to his brother-in-law not the original certificates but only copies of the same.[31]

On presenting the latter to the Treasury officials in the following January, Mr. Calvert was informed that bonds were redeemable only on submission of the original certificates. Meanwhile the Calverts had learned that the originals had been either destroyed or lost by Charles. Rosalie's determined husband took the case to the Secretary of the Treasury himself. He was told by that dignitary—the efficient Mr. Gallatin—that under the regulations Mr. Stier would receive his money only if Mr. Calvert should post a guarantee or forfeit of $16,000, almost twice the value of the bonds. This demand was met at once by George. Three years later he is still trying—delicately but persistently—to recoup his money from Charles.[32]

A contributing cause of the embarrassing situation was the incredible slowness of the mails between Europe and America. If the means of communication between the Calverts and their impatient relatives in Antwerp had been swifter, the whole impasse might have been cleared up in a reasonably short time. But the vicissitudes of letters sent across the ocean were incalculable.

As an example of the difference in the speeds of the postal service of the jet age and that of the early nineteenth century: on April 1, 1809, Rosalie writes that she has just received two of Charles' letters dated July 5 and November 24 of the previous year.[33] And, in direct reference to the affair of the missing certificates: "I received your letter of the 24th of December, 1809 [she informs Charles under date of July 23, 1810]. . . . Our correspondence became intricate. I wrote to you the twentieth of March [apparently 1810], and I hope you have received that letter in which there are accounts and business details which would be interesting for you. As it may have been lost I must repeat here that you must send me without delay all the certificates you have of the 8% stock. This stock became redeemable the first of January 1809, so you have lost the interest since that time. Send duplicates and a list of the numbers of the sums, etc. of the certificates, in case they should be lost." [34]

[31] *Ibid.*, Nov. 1810. [32] *Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1814. [33] *Ibid.*, April 1, 1809.
[34] *Ibid.*, July 23, 1810.—There occurred another incident which highlighted the

Rosalie's doubts about the permanence of the American Union and her worries over financial matters are closely fused as the War of 1812 becomes her chief preoccupation.

The country is at the mercy of the English fleet, she announces to Charles in the late winter of 1813, and civil war is almost a certainty. A flotilla of two English ships of 74 cannon, and six frigates are closing the entry of the Chesapeake and Delaware and are permitting no vessels to pass in or out. There is nothing to prevent the English from reducing all our ports to ashes. The moderation of the enemy in contenting himself with such a blockade is, she thinks, surprising. She trembles for the future of her children.[35] If the war continues, she fears, the Government bonds will decrease to nothing. Hence Charles should, as far as possible, deal with private banks and corporations, especially the turnpike companies and the Bank of Washington, of which latter, incidentally, Mr. Calvert is a director.[36]

There is a general stagnation of all business as 1814 draws to a close.[37] All work on the Calvert farm has been at a standstill during the past two years. Their tobacco harvest of the last several years is rotting in the storehouse. Every commodity has doubled or tripled in price. And all this distress is due to the "abominable" war.[38]

The financial condition of the country is at an all-time low. There is not a single dollar in circulation south of Boston, and the banks have agreed to pay only in paper. A person traveling from Maryland to Massachusetts must exchange Washington notes for Baltimore notes at par; at Philadelphia he loses 5% on his Baltimore notes; he must convert his Philadelphia notes at New York, and his New York notes at Boston.[39] Only peace with England, says Rosalie, can bring a return to normalcy.

Peace finally came. Rosalie is feeling better about financial affairs in the fall of 1819. But the bank panic of that year, as described in her letters, provides further proof of the need for

inconvenience caused by the tardy mails. Charles had asked one Richard Scott to act as his proxy in voting in the meetings of the board of a bank in which they were both directors. When Scott began to form a cabal to oust from the board the father of one of Charles' best friends, it took several months for Rosalie's warning to reach her brother. In the meantime Charles' vote was being used by Scott to damage the Stiers' friend (Rosalie to Charles, Nov. 1810).

[35] Rosalie to Charles, Feb. 24, 1813.

[36] *Ibid.,* Apr. 11, 1813.

[37] *Ibid.,* Dec. 27, 1814.

[38] *Ibid.,* Feb. 18, 1814.

[39] *Ibid.,* Dec. 27, 1814.

the stabilizing influence of the Bank of the United States, so ably defended by John Marshall at that time in his *McCulloch* vs. *Maryland* decision.[40]

So Rosalie Calvert made her frank reports on America, as she acted out her part of wife and mother and capable housekeeper and—despite occasional qualms—good citizen. By the time of her death she and George had been blessed with six children. The last important communication in her letter-book was not written by herself but by her daughter Caroline:

My dear Uncle [Charles]:

You ask me the details of the last illness and of the end of my dear Mother. She was obliged to keep to her bed from the beginning of the winter on account of that lameness which I believe she described to my Aunt Van Havre. At first we hoped that she would be cured, but I think she herself felt her end was approaching; but this moment had no terrors for one who had for several years regulated her life by the laws of Holy Scripture. During the intervals of cessation of pain she was busied in giving directions to her gardner, and even separated a quantity of seeds herself and said where and how she wished them to be planted. She instructed us in a most careful way in the management of the household. The day before her death she gave something to every one of her friends who surrounded her and to all her servants. She consigned her children to their father and to the care of the Almighty.[41]

[40] *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1819.
[41] Caroline Calvert to her uncle Charles, July 27, 1821.

TALBOT COUNTY QUAKERISM IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

By Kenneth L. Carroll

QUAKERISM in Talbot County antedates by several years the establishment of the county itself *circa* 1661. Friends were probably among the very first to receive grants in this area in the late 1650's. Maryland Quakerism received its start, in 1656, when Elizabeth Harris of London made her way to the Chesapeake Bay area just four years after the birth of Quakerism in England. Most of her "convincements" appear to have been in the vicinity of Annapolis and on Kent Island.[1] Elizabeth Harris was soon followed, in 1658, by Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston and, in 1659, by Christopher Holder, Robert Hodgson, and William Robinson. The success of these traveling Quakers was so great that the Governor and Council of Maryland were alarmed and ordered that in the future such people who were guilty of "diswading the People from Complying with the Military discipline in this time of Danger and also from giving testimony or being Jurors" should be "whipped from Constable to Constable" until they were sent out of the colony.[2]

As the white inhabitants began spreading from Kent Island and from the already occupied parts of the Western Shore into the newly opened areas of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Talbot County came to be settled. Undoubtedly among these newly arrived settlers were to be found some Friends from the Kent or Severn Quaker centers. Almost immediately they were joined by a great influx of Virginia Quakers escaping from a very harsh persecution. In the March 1659/60 session of the Virginia Assembly,

[1] Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, 1911), pp. 266-268. See also Kenneth L. Carroll, "Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (1952), 297-313.

[2] *Archives of Maryland*, III, 362. There is no record of this sentence ever having been enforced.

there had been passed an " Act for the suppression of Quakers." [3] Other laws similar in nature and purpose appeared in the next two or three years—designed to strengthen the Established (Anglican) Church in Virginia.

Friends living in Northampton and Accomack Counties on the Eastern Shore of Virginia and in Lancaster and neighboring counties in the main part of Virginia fled to neighboring Maryland. For the most part these Virginia exiles settled along the Choptank River in Talbot County, on the shores of the Patapsco in Baltimore County, and in Somerset County at the bottom of Maryland's Eastern Shore. Among these coming to Talbot County from Virginia were Walter Dickinson, Richard and Lovelace Gorsuch, Howell and Thomas Powell, and probably Philip Stevenson.[4]

There exists little information concerning the first few years of The Society of Friends' existence in Talbot County, for the extant records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting begin in the first month, 1676. Quaker journals, land records, and court records provide what little knowledge that remains.

It appears that by the middle of the 1660's there had arisen four main Quaker centers in Talbot County—on the " Michael's " (Miles) River,[5] at Bayside just above Tilghman's Island, on the Choptank River near Dividing and Island Creeks, and on the Tuckahoe at King's Creek near Matthewstown. Of these the one on the Miles River was perhaps the strongest, for it was the first to build a meeting house. This building, erected sometime during the 1660's and called Betty's Cove Meeting House, was the first church or building of worship erected in the new county. By 1672, it had proved to be too small and had already been enlarged in order to accommodate the growing Quaker congregation living in this area. George Fox, in his second visit to Talbot, in 1672, wrote that this building could not contain the people " though they had not long before enlarged their meeting place, and made it as large again, as it was before." [6] It may have been enlarged once

[3] George MacLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which It Grew* (Richmond, 1947), p. 192.

[4] *Archives of Maryland*, LIV, xxi, xxiv.

[5] Quakers did not use the title " saint."

[6] *Journal of George Fox; Being an Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labours of Love, in the Work of the Ministry*

more, for the first extant records of Talbot Quakers, dated the 24th of the 1st Month, 1676, show a decision to complete the meeting house at Betty's Cove:

> to Seale the Gable End and the loft with Clapboard and Make a partition betwixt the new Roome and the old three foot high seiled and with windows to Lift up and Down, and to be hung with hinges according to the discretion of Bryan Omealy and John Pitt who are appointed by the meeting to have the Oversight of the same and to be done with what Conveniency may be.[7]

George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, gives us a view of Talbot County Quakerism in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. He speaks of the many people who "received the truth with gladness" during his first visit, in April, 1672. Upon his return to Talbot County, in September, 1672, after a horseback trip to New England, he held a meeting on the 18th at Robert Harwood's house on the Miles River and on the 19th was at the home of John Edmondson, the great Quaker merchant who lived on Third Haven (Tredhaven, Tred Avon) Creek. On First Day (Sunday) he proceeded three or four miles by water (to Betty's Cove, in all probability) where there was present a judge's wife who had not attended a Friends meeting before. She was "reached" and later exclaimed "she had rather hear us once than the priest a thousand times."

After a brief trip outside Talbot County, George Fox returned to John Edmondson's home on Third Haven to attend the General Meeting for all Maryland Friends, held alternatively every six months at West River near Annapolis and Third Haven in Talbot County. Fox records that the first three days of this five-day General Meeting were spent in public worship to which came "many Protestants of divers sorts, and some Papists; amongst these were several magistrates and their wives, and other persons of chief account in the county." There were so many people who came to these meetings that Fox, in describing his daily trip by water to the meeting, wrote

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of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, who Departed this Life, in Great Peace with the Lord, the 13th of the 11th Month, 1690 (London, 1891), II, 179. Quaker marriage records show this building to have been in existence as early as 1669.

[7] Minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends, MS, I, 1, Hall of Records, Annapolis, hereafter referred to as Third Haven Minutes.

. . . and there were so many boats at that time passing upon the river that it was almost like the Thames. The people said, ' there were never so many boats seen there together before.' And one of the Justices said, ' he never saw so many People together in that country before.' It was a heavenly meeting.[8]

Fox's note of the " persons of chief account " who attended his meetings reminds one of the same tendency exhibited by the author of the New Testament book of Acts. One of the signs of " success " of a new movement is the number of influential persons it attracts. It appears that Talbot County Quakerism had its share of such people almost from the beginning. Richard Gorsuch and Thomas Powell became Justices of Talbot County. Philip Stevenson was on the Court of Talbot County in 1665. Howell Powell and John Dickinson were among the most prominent planters in the county,[9] and John Edmondson was a very wealthy merchant and planter.[10]

By 1670 Talbot County had become the home of Wenlock Christison (Christerson) who had figured prominently in the Boston persecution of Quakers and who, in 1660, had been sentenced to be hanged. Shortly after receiving this sentence, he was pardoned and released from prison. Four years later, in 1664, he received ten lashes in each of three towns in Massachusetts and then was driven into the wilderness. After a period spent in Barbados, he made his way to Talbot County, settling on Fausley Creek, a branch of the Miles River. He became a very influential leader and minister among the Quakers of the central part of the Eastern Shore; and, for a time, one of the meetings was held in his home.[11] Wenlock Christison was one of the members depended upon by Talbot Quakers to prepare a petition for the Assembly of Maryland asking that Friends be relieved of the necessity of taking oaths. This petition, drawn up by Christison, William Berry, and two other Friends, asked that an affirmation be sub-

[8] Fox, *op. cit.*, II, 168, 178-179.

[9] *Archives of Maryland*, LIV, xxi, xxiv.

[10] See Frank B. Edmundson and Emmerson B. Roberts, " John Edmondson—Large Merchant of Tred Haven Creek," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, L (1955), 219-234.

[11] Samuel A. Harrison's *Wenlock Christison, and the Early Friends in Talbot County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1878) contains an interesting account of Christison. This monograph, included in Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861* (Baltimore, 1915), is largely based on George Bishope's somewhat colored *New England Judged.*

stituted for an oath (already permitted in New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Jamaica). The Burgesses voted to grant this right, but the Council refused to concur.[12] Years and much suffering were to pass before this right was to be granted.

It is not until the start of the final quarter of the seventeenth century that a fuller picture of Talbot Quaker history is to be had, for it was on the 24th of 1st month, 1676, that Talbot Friends began the series of business meeting minutes which are still extant and which are complete down to the present time. The life of the movement becomes much clearer before our gaze as a result of these records.

In addition to the completion of the recently enlarged Betty's Cove Meeting House already referred to, Talbot Friends, in 1676 were interested in Quaker books which they might circulate. Therefore it is recorded that

> It is though fitt by the meeting that a Stock be Kept amongst Friends to pay for Books and to be dispensed of as friends Shall See need from time to time for y^e^ Service of Truth Every Friend being Left to his own Liberty and Freedom what to give.[13]

Those Friends who subscribed 4,750 pounds of tobacco for this purpose were probably the wealthier members of the Society at that time: William Berry, Bryan Omealy, John Pitt, Howell Powell, Ralph Fishbourne, Thomas Taylor, John Edmondson, William Southbee, John Jadwin, Henry Woolchurch, James Hall, William Sharp, John Pemberton, Henry Parrott, John Dickinson, Charles Gorsuch, Alexander Nash, and Obadiah Judkins. Mention is made on the 21st of the 1st month, 1679, of paying " a hh^d^ of tobacco " for books received from William Richardson. On the 24th of the 5th month, 1691, it was recorded that " this meeting Received a parcell of bookes which came from our Deare friend and Brother George Fox before his Death as a Token of his Love." [14]

Still another matter which concerned Talbot Friends was the establishment of burial places. Therefore on the 29th of the 9th month, 1676, it was " concluded by the meeting that Friends be-

[12] J. Saurin Norris, *The Early Friends (Or Quakers) in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1862), p. 19; John Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors* (Boston, 1898), II, 153.
[13] Third Haven Minutes, I, 1.
[14] *Ibid.*, I, 14, 113.

longing to Michaels River meeting [Betty's Cove] doe by the first conveniency gett them a bur-ing place Securely pailed in by the meeting-house." At the same time Tuckahoe meeting was instructed to " get them a Bur-ing place Securely pailed in for their own conveniency." [15]

With the acquisition of burial places came the necessity of deciding which people might be placed to rest in these spots. The occasion which brought about a plan of action occurred in 1st month, 1679:

> It so happened that Richard Hall did lay the body of a man in friends burieing place, that was in no wise in unity with the Truth nor friends but rather averse to Both and in as Much as friends have no unity with the Same the meeting hath advised that for the future the like may not be done and that none may be admitted to have a buriall with friends but Such who are close with or own the Truth in their life time in Some measure.[16]

Such decisions led to careful examination of members. Friends were to determine:

1) If Any walk not in the Truth that have beene Convinced and goe From the truth and is not faithful in their Testimony in Every particular.
2) If any follow Drunkeness, pleasures or Gameing or is not faithful in their callings and Dealings nor honest and just.
3) If any go disorderly together in Marriage.
4) If any widdows have Children and doe Intend to Marry to Enquire what She hath Done for her Children.
5) If widdows have Children to put forth—prentices or Servant to take Care to Ease Them if they be Burthened.
6) If any go to the Priest or Magistrate to be Married.
7) If any wear their hatts on when Friends prays in y^e^ power of God in Opposition to the Power of God.
8) [If] All Friends to take Notice of the Poore to Ease one another.
9) If any men or women Hunt after one another and then Leave one another and goe to Others.
10) If any Evill Speakers, Backbiters, Slanderers, foolish Jesters or Talkers.
11) If there be any Tale Carriers and Railers that Loves Dissention.
12) If any differences between Friends to be Speedily Ended.

[15] *Ibid.*, I, 7.
[16] *Ibid.*, I, 14.

13) [If] All Friends to Traine up their Children in the feare of the Lord and good Order of Truth.
14) [If] Friends to buy Convenient Burying Places.
15) [If] Friends to Buy Convenient Books for Registering Birthes, Burialls, Marriages and all other things appertaining to the Order of Truth.
16) [If] Friends should take Spetiall Care and not be Slack in Comeing together to Meeting betwixt the 10th or 11th Hour which is the time appointed.[17]

A measure of growth is indicated by the fact that in the last half of the seventeenth century Talbot Friends felt the need to build additional meeting houses. As their numbers continued to grow, the homes in which it had been customary to meet soon proved unsatisfactory. Betty's Cove Meeting House on the Miles River was the earliest to be built—sometimes in the 1660's. The dates at which other meeting houses were erected is uncertain, though mention of the meeting house at Tuckahoe (near what is now Matthewstown) is found in 1679. In 1690, there arose some question about the clearness of the title to the land on which this building was located, so that the meeting appointed John Ashdell, John Pitt, and John Jadwin to meet with Benjamin Parrott in order to straighten up this matter. Some years earlier, in 1682, a search was made into the clearness of the title of the land at the Betty's Cove Meeting House.[18]

On the 24th of the 4th month, 1681, Talbot Quakers decided that a " halfe yeare meeting house be builded upon John Edmondson's land according to the advice of the Halfe Year-Meeting at Westriver and that it be built upon the most convenient Point for a good Landing." The building instructions set by the meeting were as follows:

That the house be builded 40 foote Long and 22 foote wide: and 20 foote Long and 22 foote wide against the broad Side of the aforesaid 40 foote house in the form of a T and to be good Substantable Work and petitioned Most suitable for the accomodation of friends both at halfe year and quarterly meeting according to the discretion of those friends hereafter Named who are appointed by this Meeting to have the Oversight of the Same So as to procure work-men, Receive the Nayles that friends

[17] *Ibid.*, I, 3, 4. It was decided on the 20th of the 4th month, 1677, that First Day meetings should begin about the " Eleaventh Hour."
[18] *Ibid.*, I, 39, 54, 109.

bring in, and Mannage the whole concern which friends are W^m^ Southbee, Rich^d^ Michell, Lovelace Gorsuch, Ralph Fishbourn, Bryon Omealie, John Edmondson, John Pitt, and Henry Woolchurch and that Said friends doe agree to go ther for the Effecting of the Same with as Much speed as conveniently may be [19]

This was the first of several decisions which eventually led to the building of beautiful old Third Haven Meeting House which today still stands in the town of Easton. By the spring of 1682, the meeting had bargained with William Southbee for " Some Planck at y^e^ price of one pound of Tobacco per foote " and instructed Richard Mitchell and Emanuel Jenkinson to receive it, measure it, and to give an account of the quality of it to the next quarterly meeting. That same month Southbee was instructed to sell the fifteen " Barrles of corn " which he was holding for Friends and to pay himself for his " planck." [20]

On the 27th of the 8th month, 1682, the meeting appointed William Southbee, Henry Woolchurch, William Sharp, Lovelace Gorsuch, and William Stevens, Jr. to purchase three acres from John Edmondson for the meeting house and " to gett a firm conveyance for it with free Regress and progress to y^e^ said Land according to a Deed of uses." They also requested John Edmondson that he accord " y^e^ aforesd friends advise together for y^e^ most convenient place upon Said Land to Sett y^e^ house upon and also to agree with y^e^ carpenter or carpenters for y^e^ Building of y^e^ Said house." At this time the plans and dimensions of the building were changed so that it was to be

60 foote long and 22 foote wide and to be Strong Substantiall framed work with good white Oak ground Sills and posts with girders and y^e^ Roofe to be Double Raftred and good principle Rafters Every to foote and to be Double Studded below, and to be well Braced, and windowes convenient and Shutters and good Large Staires into y^e^ Chambers which Chambers are to be 20 foote Square at Each End of y^e^ house so y^t^ they may be entire and 20 foote vacant betwixt them for other Conveniencyes to be Left to the Discretion of y^e^ aforesaid friends.[21]

John Salter was chosen as the carpenter to erect this frame meeting house. The work seems to have been fairly well along when a committee met with him in the 9th month, 1683, to " Secure y^e^ finishing of y^e^ great meeting-house." On the 9th month

[19] *Ibid.*, I, 41. [20] *Ibid.*, I, 48. [21] *Ibid.*, I, 52.

of the 3rd month, 1684, the meeting expressed a concern that the building had not yet been finished and " y^e^ time drawing nigh in which it should be finished this meeting advises y^t^ John Salter be writt to as from this meeting to put him in mind to perform his covenant according to his Bond." A month later it was reported that Salter " alledgeth y^t^ y^e^ wettness of y^e^ weather prevented y^e^ Sawing of y^e^ plank " but promised that he would finish it as quickly as possible and also said that if he had been " defective in not doeing his work according to agreement " he would make " Reasonable Satisfaction." [22]

The first meeting to be held in the new Third Haven Meeting House was on the 24th of the 8th month, 1684, although the building had not been completely finished by that time. On the 28th of the 6th month, 1685, the meeting was still trying to get Salter to do " y^e^ work that is Still undone on y^e^ meeting house." For this purpose,

> This meeting has agreed to give Wm Troth Six hundred pounds of tobacco for a good Barren Cow for provisions for y^e^ Carpenter . . . , and Jn^o^ Edmondson has supplied the Carpenter with a bushell of wheate, Wm Troth a bushell of corn, Ralph Fishbourn a bushell of corn, Wm Sharp a bushell of corn, Henry Woolchurch ½ bushell of wheate and John Pitt ½ Bushell of wheate, the provissions for y^e^ workman to be Dressed att Jeophrey Horneys.[23]

Later that year, in the 9th month, the meeting decided that John Salter had been overpaid by the sum of 1370 pounds of tobacco which it felt that he should return.[24] By this time the building had probably been finished to the satisfaction of the meeting.

This " great meeting house " was originally built to house the General (or Half Yearly) Meeting, which was held every six months at West River near Annapolis and at Third Haven. Some years were to pass before regular weekly meetings for worship were to be held there. By 1690, a " house for conveniency " was erected at the creekside near the meeting house at the cost of four hogsheads of tobacco. Several years later a similar building was erected at West River for " y^e^ Conveniency of Eastern Shore friends " who contributed to its cost.[25]

It seems quite clear that Choptank Friends did not possess a

[22] *Ibid.*, I, 61, 64-65.
[23] *Ibid.*, I, 73.
[24] *Ibid.*, I, 75.
[25] *Ibid.*, I, 112, 121.

meeting house, in 1682, when the Monthly Meeting agreed with the decision of Choptank Quakers to hold their weekly meeting " but att three perticular houses viz^{t} W^{m} Sharpes, W^{m} Stevens-s and W^{m} Dickensons." On the 27th of the 4th month, 1690, there is found reference to a monthly business meeting held " at our meeting-house at Will^{m} Stevens in Dividing Creek." This is rather puzzling in the light of minutes of the 30th of the 5th month, 1696, when it is reported that

> Several friends of Choptank meeting aquaints this meeting that they have Unanimously agreed upon a place to Build a meeting house (vizt.) upon William Stevens Land and desire the assent of this meeting which assent is freely and Readily given thereto this meeting having good unity with the Same and desires they may be Expeditious in building Said meeting-house.[26]

Betty's Cove Meeting, on the Miles River near the old Dixon home at " North Bend," was the first Talbot meeting to have a house of worship. Yet the group did not last the century as a regular meeting. In 1691, it was reported that there was a " slackness in friends belonging to bettys cove meeting in keeping their weekly meeting." The Monthly Meeting asked all Friends concerned " to be more dilligent for time to come in keeping both to First days and weekly meetings which is really a Duty incumbent upon the professors of Truth." [27]

In 1692, it was proposed by the Bettys Cove assembly to remove " to Our great meeting house at y^{e} head of Tradhavancreek." After asking the advice of the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, the Monthly Meeting approved this change on the 27th of the 1st month, 1693. On the 1st of the 12th month, 1694, the meeting agreed to pay Thomas Booker sixteen hundred pounds of Tobacco for " pailing in y^{e} grave yard at Bettys Cove." [28]

Probably the Friends at Bayside met in the home of Ralph Fishbourne until nearly the end of the seventeenth century. The meeting house there was built sometime before 1697, when it was recorded at the county court, though no marriages are reported there until 1700. There is no information in the minutes of the Monthly Meeting giving a more definite date.

[26] *Ibid.*, I. 47, 108, 144. Several weddings were held in the Choptank meeting house in 1698.
[27] *Ibid.*, I, 115-116.
[28] *Ibid.*, I, 120, 124, 133.

James Ridley and James Berry were appointed by the Monthly Meeting, in 1695, " to gett all y^e^ meeting houses in Talbot County put upon y^e^ County Records according to Law." Therefore, when the Governor and Council, in 1697, ordered the sheriffs of each county to list the location and type of place of worship belonging to the Quakers, it was recorded that Talbot County Quakers had " a small meeting house " at Ralph Fishbourne's (Bayside) and at Howell Powell's (Choptank) and another one between Kings Creek and Tuckahoe. These were clapboard houses " about twenty feet long." A larger one, " about fifty feet long " was at the head of Tredhaven Creek (Third Haven). John Pitt and James Ridley reported to the Monthly Meeting that they had appeared " at a Court held for Talbot County " about the 22nd of the 7th month, 1698, and " desired of y^e^ said Court to have all our publick meeting places and houses in this County Recorded which was granted by y^e^ Court." [29]

Talbot County Quakerism, at the dawn of the eighteenth century, was strong and expanding. Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends included four Weekly or Preparative Meetings within the county: Bayside, Choptank, Third Haven, and Tuckahoe, each of which was well-established by the year 1700, possessing its own meeting house and constituency. The century just beginning was to be one of further growth for the Monthly Meeting and its member meetings, just as it was for the Society of Friends as a whole.

As an evidence, early in the eighteenth century there appears to have arisen a desire to reopen the old Betty's Cove Meeting which had been closed in the 1690's when its membership had been transferred to Third Haven. On the 29th of the 8th month, 1702, it was recorded that,

> This meeting is Concerned to gett Bettys Cove meeting house rebuilt and orders W^m^ Dixon to Speake to Peter Harwood and know if he will doe it and if he refuses W^m^ Dixon and Abrah^m^ Morgan is appointed by this meeting to gett a Carpenter and agree with him to doe it which agreement this meeting will Comply with.[30]

Six months later nothing had been done, so that the Monthly Meeting appointed Peter Harwood, Daniel Powell, and William

[29] *Ibid.*, I, 136, 157; Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
[30] Third Haven Minutes, I, 190.

Dixon to "hier a Carpenter to do [this rebuilding] and give account of their proceedings therein to our next monthly meeting." Sometimes later in 1703, this work got underway, for John Lowe, on the 27th of the 2nd month, 1704, turned in a bill for "1500 8^{d} nailes at 5/6 per M and 2M of 10^{d} ditto at 6/6 per M." At the same time the meeting approved payment of this account, it also directed Thomas Taylor, the keeper of "Friends' stock" at this time, to pay Peter Harwood four pounds, three shillings, and four pence towards the cost of rebuilding this meeting house. At the end of 1704 Taylor was instructed to pay Harwood an additional three pounds and three shillings "for so much as is behind for building the meeting house at Betties Cove." [31]

The records of Third Haven Meeting offer no information concerning what use was made of this rebuilt meeting house at Betty's Cove or how long it continued to stand. In 1705 the meeting appointed William Dixon, John Lowe, John Bartlett, and Peter Harwood to "gett betties Cove graveyard Secured Either by ditching or payling or how they may See most Convenient." After several promptings the committee finally completed this task, so that John Lowe, on the 30th of the 10th month, 1708, presented the meeting with a bill of 1660 pounds of tobacco and nine shillings and sixpence in cash for "pailing the graveyard at Bettys Cove." [32] This is the last mention of this meeting house in Talbot County Quaker records.

Choptank Friends had erected a new meeting house just before the seventeenth century ended. By 1715, it had fallen into an unhappy state of repair, so that on the 27th of the 2nd month it was recorded that there

> is Sume Dissatisfaction among the Meeters Consarning the Meeting House which is Now very Bad and unfit for the Meetings Servis and Severall friends not being Satisfied with the place where it now Stands, therefore this Meeting Appoints George Bows, Th^{o} Taylor, Dan^{l} and Howell Powell to meete att Choptank Meeting on Sum first day of y^{e} week and if Posable to approve a place Conveneant where a meeting house may be Built with the Consent of all Choptank meeting.[33]

There is no mention in the meeting's minutes of the erection of a new building. It seems likely that the old building was repaired. In 1719, it was decided to hold the monthly meeting

[31] *Ibid.*, I, 194, 206, 215. [32] *Ibid.*, I, 221, 247. [33] *Ibid.*, I, 297.

for business (which rotated from Third Haven, to Choptank, to Tuckahoe) at the Choptank Meeting House rather than continuing to hold it at the nearby house of John Stevens where it had been held for some years.[34]

Just as the second half of the eighteenth century was getting under way, there developed a weakness in the Choptank Meeting. On the 30th of the 12th month, 1754, it was reported to the Monthly Meeting that " From Choptank Meeting their Account is that they have had no Meetting kept among them this Month." In the following month meetings were kept only on two First Days. In a short time, with the urging of the Monthly Meeting, things improved. With one or two exceptions the life of this meeting was much the same as that of the other Talbot meetings. Yet, in 1759, the Choptank Friends found it worthwhile to note that a trespass had been committed on the land where the meeting house was located. In 1760, Peter Webb " produced to this meeting y^e^ money for the Trespass Committed on Choptank m:g:house and Land," and this money was turned over to Powell Cox, treasurer.[35]

Tuckahoe Friends early in the eighteenth century became interested in obtaining a title to the property on which their meeting house stood. On the 29th of the 1st month, 1705, John Pitt and Abraham Morgan reported to the Monthly Meeting that they " have Spoake to y^e^ three friends that Claimed an Interest in y^e^ Land the meeting house and graveyard Stands upon to give friends a Joynt Conveyance For the Same which they have promised to doe." This " Tuckahoe meeting house Land Deade " was received by the meeting and later on, in 1717, was given to Georg Bows [Bowse] for keeping. In 1723 the Monthly Meeting reported that George Bows, David Arey, and Abraham Morgan, " the friends that ware Instrusted with the Land and meeting house att Tukaho," were all deceased and, therefore, appointed Ennion Williams, James Berry, and James Willson, Jr., " in their Place for that Servis or Trust." [36]

In 1764 Tuckahoe Friends decided to build a new meeting house and asked the Monthly Meeting to lend it the necessary money

[34] *Ibid.*, I, 335, 337.
[35] *Ibid.*, II, 109-110, 225, 250.
[36] *Ibid.*, I, 217, 314, 373.

from the funds the treasurer now held. Daniel Dickinson was authorized to deliver this money to James Kemp and Benjamin Berry who were the trustees for Tuckahoe Meeting. In 1770, James Kemp and Benjamin Berry " produced the sum of seven Pounds five Shillings being part of the Money they Borrowed of this Meeting for defraying the expense of Building Tuckaho Meeting-house." [37]

The " great meeting house " at Third Haven, still standing today within the city limits of Easton, needed repairs at the very beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1700 Third Haven Friends sought to " secure y^e^ floor of our great meeting house." At the same time this meeting was " Concerned to gett y^e^ house at the water Side Covered for friends Service." One Thomas Bartlett promised " to furnish them with 1500 10^d^ and 1M 20^d^ nayles for y^t^ purpose." This was the building placed at the edge of the creek for the " conveniency " of those Friends coming from the Western Shore to the General Meeting (held alternately at Third Haven and at West River near Annapolis every six months and often called the Yearly Meeting).

In 1708 the General Meeting appointed a number of Friends to repair the " great meeting house " at Third Haven or build another one in its place. After an examination of the building it was felt best to repair it. Again, in 1736, the meeting house was repaired and a collection raised to cover the cost of this work. In 1739, Howell Powell was appointed to " Clear the Quit Rents of y^e^ Land belonging to this Meeting house for the time past and So annuly for time to Come and take their Receit for the same." [38]

At the very middle of the century, on the 30th of the 5th month, 1750, in order to raise money for the repairing of Third Haven Meeting House, collectors for contributions were appointed in all four of the Talbot Quaker meetings: John Kemp in Bayside, William Troth in Third Haven, John Dickinson in Choptank, and Isaac Williams in Tuckahoe. In 1755 and 1758, more repairs were made on this building which by then was almost three-quarters of a century old. In 1767, the " backside [of the roof] of the meeting house " was covered with shingles. And, in 1768, the partitions " between the Chambers of Third Meeting house " were to receive

[37] *Ibid.*, II, 361, 485.
[38] *Ibid.*, I, 169, 170, 247, 487, 503.

the " necessary alteration . . . in order better to accomodate friends in the time of the Yearly Meetings." [39]

Another sign of growth was that by 1764 it was felt that more benches were needed at the meeting house, so that the meeting selected Francis Neal and Daniel Dickinson " to agree with a Workman " to make the necessary benches. Still more were believed needed in 1769, and Isaac Dixon and James Berry were ordered to have some more made—for " there is a deficiency in the number of Benches in the time of Yearly Meeting." In 1771, the meeting paid a bill of seven pounds, two shillings, and sixpence for nineteen benches which had been made for Third Haven. In 1771, it was thought good to " have a good and sufficient Fence made round the Meeting house yard," and John Register, Henry Troth, John Bartlett, and James Berry were appointed to see that this would be done.[40]

In 1779, James Berry was requested to procure a stove for Third Haven Meeting House—the first mention of a stove in Talbot Quaker records. According to tradition one Friend was so disturbed by this giving into luxury and " worldliness " that it became his custom to hide this " abomination " by covering it with his coat. One cold First Day morning some Friend started a fire in this stove before the protector of the old ways arrived to throw his coat over the stove—without noticing the fire. For his righteousness the guardian lost a coat, his fellows almost their meeting house.[41]

In 1790 Third Haven Friends felt it wise to seek " a permanent outlett to Third Haven Meeting Lott by an exchange of some ground with Denny Hopkins." [42] On the 31st of the 3rd month, 1791, the Friends appointed for this task reported that they had " finally settled that business as by an Article now produced which is satisfactory to this meeting and they are directed to have it entered in the County Records." [43]

[39] *Ibid.*, II, 44-45, 422, 427, 454-455.

[40] *Ibid.*, II, 371, 471, III, 3, 78.

[41] *Ibid.*, III, 114; *Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Old Third Haven Meeting House, Octbor 23, 1932* (Easton, 1932), p. 17, tells of another narrow escape from destruction by fire. About 1810 Sarah Berry extinguished the flame by rubbing it with a stick—not having time to obtain water or give the alarm.

[42] Third Haven Minutes, III, 271.

[43] *Ibid.*, III, 283, 286. This is reported accomplished by the 26th of the 5th month, 1791.

As the eighteenth century drew to a close, it seemed necessary to Talbot Friends that Third Haven Meeting House be enlarged in order to accommodate the Quarterly Meeting (composed of Third Haven and Cecil Monthly Meetings on the Eastern Shore and Motherkill and Duck Creek Monthly Meetings in Delaware).[44] Friends were of the opinion that

> it will be proper to take away the projecting front part of the building and in the room thereof to erect an Addition of ten feet the whole length of the house and to new Shingle the whole which they apprehend will require the Sum of 120£ to be raised. The same being considered is concured with and they are desired to contract with a workman to undertake the same and the several preparative Meetings, are directed to proceed to a Collection of their Several proportions of the Sd sum.[45]

The work was done in 1797, but Talbot Friends were still contributing to its cost in 1799.[46]

There is little information in Third Haven records concerning the meeting at Bayside during the eighteenth century, which may have been the oldest of the various meetings in Talbot, probably being started by settlers moving from Kent Island at the end of the 1650's. Thomas Ball, John Lowe, Edward Leeds, William Sharp, Ralph Fishbourne, John Kemp, and David Fairbanks had all settled in this area quite early. They are said to have established *two* meetings in Bay Hundred—one at Broad Creek Neck near Bozman and the other near Wittman—some time before the Betty's Cove Meeting House was built in the late 1660's.[47] These two meetings, *if* they ever existed at the *same* time, probably formed one Weekly or Preparative Meeting. It seems more likely that Bayside Meeting may have been moved from one of these locations to the other (a practice frequently seen among Eastern Shore Friends).

For some unknown reason reports from Bayside Meeting do not appear as frequently in Third Haven records as do those from other Talbot meetings. About the middle of the eighteenth century there developed a weakness among these Friends, for we

[44] The Eastern Shore meetings were transferred from the Baltimore to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1790 (*ibid.*, III, 268).
[45] *Ibid.*, III, 364.
[46] *Ibid.*, IV, 32.
[47] *Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Old Third Haven Meeting House*, pp. 9-10.

read that "From Bayside meeting their account is that their meetings have been kept on first Days this month *by a few* and Friends are in Love and unity as far as is known." [48] This situation seems to have lingered on for, in 1770, the Monthly Meeting appointed Isaac Dixon and James Berry to visit Bayside Meeting "from time to time as they may find their Minds engaged." In 1782 John Kemp and Thomas Wickersham were appointed by the Monthly Meeting to have the meeting house at Bayside covered. Once again, at the end of 1787, the "weak situation" of Bayside Meeting claimed "the Solid attention" of the Monthly Meeting which appointed Tristram Needles, John Register, Richard Bartlett, and Thomas Wickersham to visit that meeting. As a result it was recorded that,

> Most of the friends Appointed report they visited Bayside Meeting and think it would be encouraging to the few there if friends were to go and sit with them in their Meetings, the same friends are continued to visit them as they find freedom and report to this Meeting when they see ocation.[49]

Friends in Talbot, upon advice from George Fox, had begun keeping records in 1676—minutes of their meetings for business, and birth, marriage, and death records. Throughout the colonial period they showed continuing interest in their records. On the 27th of the 5th month, 1704, it was recorded that

> Our Friend Ennion Williams haveing Transcribed our Books per order of our friends meeting and friends not having agreed with him upon a price before it was done it was Reffered to this meeting to allow him how much money he Shall have for So doeing. This meeting Considering y^e^ great Trouble and paines he has had in Compiling y^e^ minutes and placing them in a right method and also writing them of[f] doe adjudge that he Shall have paid to him So far as he has done out of friends stock y^e^ Sum of Sixteen pounds Sterling with what he has already received.[50]

In 1748 the Monthly Meeting, finding that "Our Book of Marriages and Burials Being at present Not in the Care of any Particular [person]," appointed Isaac Williams and expressed its desire that "he may Keep It According to Our former Practice." "The Late keeper of the Register for Births, marages, and Buryalls

[48] Third Haven Minutes, II, 144. Italics mine.
[49] *Ibid.*, II, 501, III, 152, 251.
[50] *Ibid.*, I, 209.

being Removed," the meeting in 1758 selected William Troth for this service. Shortly after this, in 1760, the Monthly Meeting " observing a great omishon in friends not giveing in the ages of their Children to the Register therefore this meeting advises the friends of the Several meetings to bring in the ages of their Children to the Register." [51]

In 1759, Daniel Dickinson produced a new " book for a Redgister which Cost twenty sevon shillings "; and the register was transcribed in 1762. At the beginning of 1763, Daniel Dickinson was appointed " to keep the Register . . . in the room of William Troth who is removed from hence." Benjamin Parvin followed Dickinson in this service; and in 1795, at Parvin's death, Richard Bartlett was appointed to this office and placed in charge " of the books and papers relative thereto." [52]

The intense persecution which Maryland Quakers experienced in the 1650's was short lived. Yet throughout the colonial period Talbot Friends continued to suffer for their religious convictions. As has already been noted, in 1674 Wenlock Christison, William Berry, and two other Friends had prepared a petition for their fellow Quakers, which they presented to the upper house of the Assembly of Maryland, asking to be relieved of the necessity of taking oaths. This request had been approved by the Burgesses but turned down by the Council. As a result of their refusal to take oaths, Maryland Quakers suffered heavily in 1677 and 1678.[53] In 1688, Lord Baltimore by proclamation dispensed with oaths in testamentary cases. In other cases the oath remained to trouble Quakers until 1702.

Friends felt strongly against " the double standard of truthfulness which taking an oath implies."[54] That is why they sought the right to affirm—making their " yea, yea, and nay, nay," subject to the same punishment, if they broke with that, as those who broke their oaths or swore falsely. In 1691, three years after Lord Baltimore dispensed with oaths in testamentary cases, William Berry reported that he was unable to " gett Letters of adm[inistr]ation without an Oath " and requested the advice of the meeting. He was advised to " Forbeare a little time " because John Edmond-

[51] *Ibid.*, II, 25, 191, 252-253.
[52] *Ibid.*, II, 222, 272, 326, III, 340.
[53] Fiske, *op. cit.*, II, 153.

son " Says y^t^ he does not question but to gett Letters of administration by his Test, and when Jn^o^ Edmondson returns it will be known wheather it can be so Effected as he has Said." In the very next year, 1692, this same John Edmondson, an elected member of the Assembly, was expelled from the Lower House when he asked to be allowed to make the usual declaration of Quakers rather than the prescribed oath. The Lower House had agreed, but the Upper House, consisting of the governor (Sir Lionel Copley, who had just arrived to take over the government of Maryland from the Committee of Safety, after the overthrow of Lord Baltimore) and his council objected.[55]

This difficulty over oaths continued beyond the end of the seventeenth century when we find recorded on the 27th of the 2nd month, 1699, the following:

> friends haveing often been required by y^e^ Justices of peace and other officers to hold up their hands when they give their test which is an Imposition and Contrary to y^e^ words of the Law as well as to Truth wherefore this meetings Sence is y^t^ no friend ought to hold up their hand when they give or make their Solemn affirmation or attestation in Courts of Judicature or Elsewhere, also this meeting desires Ennion Williams to gett the act of Parliament of y^t^ Concerne.[56]

As the eighteenth century began, William Edmondson distressed his brethren by taking " the Oaths y^t^ is Cutomary for magistrates to take and has accepted the place of a magistrate." The meeting, " being weightily Concerned for his Eternal good," appointed John Pitt and Ennion Williams to visit him " in the love of God." In 1755, William Taylor was appointed to visit James Berry and " Deal with him in Love for his Disorder In taking the oath." William Parrott was disowned in 1793 for having taken an oath to qualify for the office of sub-sheriff.[57]

Still another problem faced by Talbot Quakers in the colonial period was service in the colonial militia. George Fox had preached living a life which " takes away all occasions for war." Therefore Friends were advised to " keep to their Antient Testimony and not to Concern [themselves] with fighting nor taking away mens

[54] Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York, 1943), p. 58.
[55] Tilghman, *op. cit.*, II, 521.
[56] Third Haven Minutes, I, 162.
[57] *Ibid.*, I, 179, II, 111, III, 310.

Lives." Wherever possible Friends attempted to bring their members to a sense of their error:

This meeting being Informed y^t notwithstanding y^e advice of Severall friends to y^e contrary, Henry Pratt hath of late gone to Trayning by which he hath Acted contrary to the universal Testimony of truth hurt himselfe and grieved friends, therefore this meeting thinks meete he Should be visitted and his Transgression laid before him y^t So he may condemn it and cleere the Truth.[58]

William Sockwell, Nathaniel Cleeve, Henry Parrott, and Thomas Taylor, who were appointed by the meeting to Visit Henry Pratt, reported back that

they dealt with him in y^e love of god as from y^e meeting letting him know how Inconsistant it is with y^e universal testimony of truth to goe to training which he acknowledged and Said he kindly accepted of friends love and care towards him and y^t he was Really convinced he ought not to go to training and for y^e time to come hoped he Should stand clear of it, and he being present att this meeting hath Signified y^e Same in Substance as above and y^t he is one with friends in their testimony in deni-ing y^t practice.[59]

The various testimonies of Friends were bound to bring sufferings upon them. Quite early, in 1683, Talbot Quakers set up a committee to assist those who suffered and to keep a record of such happenings:

This meeting according to y^e advice of a meeting att Wm. Richardsons on y^e western shore of y^e 16th of y^e 4th month 1683 makes choice of Wm Berry, Bryon Omealy, Ralph Fishbourn, and Tho. Taylor to assist and advise all friends of Every Respective meeting on this Shore in their Sufferings upon truths account att all Courts and y^t y^e Said friends So chosen doe att Each half-years meeting meet with y^e friends chosen on y^e western Shore y^t so y^e said friends on both Shores does as a meeting Enquire Examin and give account to y^e half yeare meeting of friends Suffering y^t So they may be recorded according to the advice of George Fox and friends of y^e yearly meeting at London.[60]

While Talbot Friends in this early period were themselves suffering, they still thought of their brethren who were undergoing persecution elsewhere—especially back in England. On the 5th of the 10th month, 1684, an epistle from London Yearly Meeting was read, and " a weighty Sence being upon this meeting con-

[58] *Ibid.*, I, 49-50, 130. [59] *Ibid.*, I, 50. [60] *Ibid.*, I, 58.

cerning y^e^ nessitys of Suffering friends and Captives in y^e^ parts therein mentioned it is y^e^ advice of this meeting y^t^ a collection be Made for y^t^ Service at Every Respective meeting." John Pitt and William Stevens were appointed to receive donations for " captive and suffering friends." [61]

The Quaker testimony against war brought problems to eighteenth century Talbot Friends. As early as 1706 Third Haven Monthly Meeting was advising its members to remain faithful to " the Testimony of Truth in Relation to Training " and also counselled against " lending any servant." As the century progressed, the meeting was asked, from time to time, to furnish a certificate to " y^e^ Captain of the Militia " stating that a person was " in unity with Friends." Therefore, in 1740, the following is recorded:

Henry Wood who at our Meetings for Worship has Generally appeared for Some Time as a person willing to Joyn him Self with us as a people and being Citeed to bear Arms addressed this Meeting for a few Lines to Certifie y^e^ officers of the Melisia wheather he is a person in unity with us. This meeting therefore appoints Francis Neel and Thomas Atkinson to make all Nesesary Inquiry Respecting his life and Conversation if it maybe worthy of our Certificate.[62]

Two months after this request had been made, it is recorded that Henry Wood received " a few lines from this meeting directed to y^e^ officers of the melisia signifieing he is Reputed a person in unity with us." [63]

With the outbreak of the American Revolution the peace testimony of Friends could only bring suffering and difficulty upon Talbot County Quakers. In 1776, the Yearly Meeting sent out the following minute from its proceedings:

as we have not as present any Query, requiring friends to account how far they maintain Truths Testimony against bearing Arms, or Training to learn the Art of War, it is our solid sence and Judgment that the following Addition be made to the fifth Query after the paragraph of Goods unlawfully Imported the words [against arms, military services, or contributing towards the support of war] and as we apprehend the Members of our Society who are concerned to bear their Testimony against these measures are likely to be brought under Difficulties and Distress, It is our advice that friends in our Several Quarterly and Monthly Meetings be carefull to Render Accounts of their patient Sufferings, in this respect.[64]

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[61] *Ibid.*, I, 67-68.
[62] *Ibid.*, I, 228, 513.
[63] *Ibid.*, I, 513-514.
[64] *Ibid.*, III, 72.

In 1776, Thomas Wickersham reported that a "Wheat Fann" valued at three pounds had been taken "in Execution from him . . . for a fine of 40 shillings laid on him for refusing to bear Arms, or Train in the Melitia, taken by David McIntosh, Collector." John Register reported at this same time that a "milch cow" valued at three pounds and ten shillings had been taken from him for this fine of forty shillings.[65]

As the war continued, the situation was bound to get worse, so that, in 1777, the meeting appointed James Edmondson and James Berry to record the sufferings of Friends (and also to keep an account of slaves manumitted). Among those who had property seized by David McIntosh and Thomas Dawson, "Collectors," were John Bartlett, Howell Powell, James Edmondson, William Edmondson, Solomon Charles, Richard Bartlett, John Register, Thomas Wickersham, Solomon Neall, Benjamin Parvin, Daniel Wilson, Henry Sherwood, Joseph Berry, Thomas Welch, Robert Kemp, James Fairbanks, and Thomas McKinsey.[66] Many of these people had property taken upon several occasions—sometimes for refusing to train in the militia and sometimes because their consciences did not permit them to pay taxes used to support war. Among the many objects taken by these "Collectors" were feather beds, cows, and blankets.

Not all Talbot Friends remained firm in their peace testimony. One of them, Samuel Register, was disowned in 1778 for neglecting meetings and for having "taken an Affirmation which we apprehend enjoins him to support war, for which purpose he hath contributed toward hiring a Substitute in lieu of personal service."[67]

The problem did not disappear with the end of the fighting, for there were still those taxes designed to pay the cost of the past war. Friends were told in 1784 that,

> We are unanimus of the Judgment that notwithstanding the offering of human blood appears to be stayed friends cannot be clear in paying taxes for Sinking the Debt Incured by the late war, and that friends ought to be very careful how they act in all such cases as may have a tendency to lay waist our peaceable testimony, and especially those who have heretofore suffered the Spoil of their goods rather than contribute towards

[65] *Ibid.*, III, 74.
[66] *Ibid.*, III, 78, 83, 90, 101, 102, 110, 124-125, 138, 141, 144, 154, 164, 171, 189, 206, 222.
[67] *Ibid.*, III, 92.

the Support of War and that they give no ocation for the Truth to be evilly Spoken of.[68]

In addition to these matters of oaths and war, there soon arose another problem which stemmed from the "establishment" of the Anglican Church in Maryland. A series of laws, from 1692 to 1702, succeeded in making the Church of England the official church in Maryland. One of the provisions embodied in the establishment called for the assessment of forty pounds of tobacco per poll on all taxable persons. This money was to be used for the erection of Anglican churches and the support of Anglican preachers. In 1694 Friends were cautioned against "Contributing towards maintaining Idollatrous priests" and their "houses of Worship."[69] A half year earlier, on the 5th of the 11th month, 1693, the meeting had advised Talbot Quakers that no Friend ought to pay this tax "Either directly or indirectly or any other person for the use afd it being antichristian so to do."

Often when Friends refused to pay this tax for the support of the established church they had their property seized by the sheriff. For this reason, therefore, the Monthly Meeting advised on the 29th of the 4th month, 1699,

that there be an accompt kept of friends Suffering upon ye account of the 40[l]: tobacco per poll to ye Priest and for Building and Repairing their worship houses and yt it be brought to ye quarterly meeting. The following friends are appointed to yt Service in their respective weekly meeting: William Dixon for Tredhaven, Ennion Williams for ye Bay Side, James Ridley for Tuccahoe, William Stevens for Choptanck.[70]

Talbot Quakers continued to suffer because their consciences refused to allow them to support the Anglican Church. At the very beginning of the eighteenth century Talbot Friends made known the opposition to this tax: "It is proposed to this meeting by Severall friends that Such friends as are dealers [in tobacco] be advised to Receive noe tobacco yt is Executed for ye priests wages or Repairing their worship house."[71] This concern was referred to the Yearly Meeting for action.

[68] *Ibid., III,* 193.
[69] Third Haven Minutes, I, 130.
[70] *Ibid.*, I, 128, 163. At this same meeting Daniel Cox was appointed to this service in Transquaking Meeting, in Dorchester, and Henry Hoosier for Chester Meeting and George Warner for Cecil Meeting, both in Kent County.
[71] *Ibid.*, I, 177.

In 1702, John Pitt and John Baynard were appointed to visit Walter Trotter " in the love of God " for the meeting had heard that he " has dealt with y^e^ Sherriff and taken Tobacco y^t^ was Executed for y^e^ priest hier." Trotter told the two representatives that " he did deale with y^e^ Sherrif but never rec^d^ any Tobacco y^t^ was Executed."

Talbot Friends, in 1706, at the suggestion of the Yearly Meeting at West River, appointed two friends in each meeting " to give accompt of y^e^ state of the meeting " to which they belong. These same people were also appointed to " Collect y^e^ Sufferings of friends " and turn them into Howell Powell " who by his free assent is appointed to take Care of them and Carry them to y^e^ yearly meeting at West River yearly." Those appointed were Ennion Williams and Thomas Ball for Bayside, William Dickinson and Peter Webb for Choptank, and John Pitt and Benjamin Parrott for Tuckahoe.[72]

Again, in 1723, Talbot Quakers were advised " to be Carefull to Keep up their Testimony against the Antichristian Yoak of Priest hier." In 1763, Friends, " sorrowfully observing a Deficiency on account of Maintaining our Testimony against the payment of Priests wages," advised their brethren " tenderly to treat with such as are Deficient, in order to Excite them to more faithfulness in that respect." [73]

The Quarterly Meeting, containing all the meetings on the Eastern Shore, " being informed that some Persons heretofore appointed as Overseers in some of our Meetings are in the practice of paying the Priests," advised the various Monthly Meetings in 1764 to avoid appointing any as overseers " whose Hands are not clean in that respect." It also requested that an inquiry be made " into the State of the Overseers in the respective Meetings." Talbot Friends chose Joseph Bartlett, Isaac Dixon, Joseph Berry, James Kemp, and Benjamin Berry for this task. One month later this committee reported back that it had met with *most* of the overseers and was " enabled in some good Degree in Love to treat with those of them who have been Deficient in that respect." The next month, after meeting with others, the committee reported that some overseers bore testimony against this practice; others,

[72] *Ibid.*, I, 187-188, 227-228. None was appointed for Third Haven.
[73] *Ibid.*, I, 369, II, 325.

who were " deficient therein," were advised by the comittee to show " more circumspection of the future." Another committee, composed of Joseph Bartlett, Isaac Dixon, James Kemp, Joseph Berry, Henry Troth, William Edmondson, and James Berry, was set up, in 1765, to visit the various Quaker families and to " Labour in Love with those amongst us who are in the Practice of Paying the hireling Priests." [74]

It was the custom of the Monthly Meeting to call for " the Sufferings of Friends on account of Priests Wages " fairly regularly from 1760 onward. In 1769, the meeting noted that there was " some Deficiency in bringing in the Suffering of friends on account of Priests demands and Church Rates so called " and called upon the representatives of the various Preparative Meetings to turn in an account each month for the sufferings which happened in each preceding month. For the next three years, the records are full of those who had goods taken from them for this purpose. In 1769, James Edmondson had twenty shillings " executed " from him—while Isaac Dixon lost four cows, Isaac Cox one gun, William Troth one mare, Joseph Berry one pair of " steel yards," Thomas Cockayne one pair of saddle bags, and William Edmondson eleven shillings and three pence. Isaac Dixon had the sheriff return a second time that year and take four more " cattle " to settle back claims for the years 1762, 1763, and 1764. In 1770 and 1771, James Berry, Howell Powell, William Troth, and Obadiah Atkinson had their sufferings listed.[75]

One of the main sources of trouble for the Quaker community seems to have been the presence of " James Clayland priest " (the Anglican minister at St. Michaels), who appears to have encouraged the children of Quakers to come to him for quick weddings. As early as 1680, we find this concern being expressed:

> Nathaniell Cleeve acquainted the meeting that a Daughter of his was Lately stolen away from him and conveyed to James Clayland priest who granted them a Licence and married them all in one day which he Said Seemed contrary to all Just Law and Reason and the meeting debateing the matter finding it to be of great weight have Referred it to our halfe years meeting at West river to be farther Considered of.[76]

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[74] *Ibid.*, II, 366-368, 372.
[75] *Ibid.*, II, 260, 349, 389, 453, 458-459, 462, 465, 470, 472, 473, 501; III, 5.
[76] *Ibid.*, I, 24.

This matter was taken up to the high officials of the province and it was reported that " the proprietary treated y^m [*i. e.*, those Friends who called upon him] very Civilly and Said that he was very Cautious of granting licences himself without the Parents consent." He reported to them, moreover, that he " did check the party that did grant them and said that for y^e future he would take Care in all his counties that the like Should be prevented or words to that purpose." This problem of marriages performed by " hireling priest " (which denied the principle of the priesthood of all believers) continued to plague Friends through this whole colonial period.

In this year of 1676, when Third Haven minutes first begin, there appears a great deal of interest in Quaker marriages. Since this marriage ceremony, taking place without the presence of a priest or minister, was unique with Friends, it needed special supervision and attention. It was decided that " such as declare their Intentions of marriage " should be " registered in all the Monthly Meeting Books." Also we find that " it was agreed upon by y^e meeting that noe marriages nor anything of Concernment Should be published in meeting but by the Consent of Every Respective mans meeting." Part of this concern expressed at this particular time probably stems from a rather hasty marriage on the part of Wenlock Christison. On the 14th of the 5th month, 1676, the following was recorded:

> Wenlock Christerson declared in the meeting that if the world or any particular person Should speak Evilly of the Truth or Reproach Friends concerning his proceeding in takeing his wife that then he will give farther Satisfaction and cleere the Truth and Friends by giving forth a paper to Condemn his hasty and forward proceeding in that matter and Said that were the thing to do Againe he would not proceed so hasty nor without the Consent of Friends.

It was agreed that Wenlock Christison's " paper " be suspended " till y^e halfe year meeting." On the 23rd of the 12th month, 1676, we read that Christison " according to his promise delivered a paper to this meeting and for the publication of y^e Same left it to the discretion of y^e meeting if upon farther Consideration They do Judg it Suffitient for the Cleering the Truth in Such a Case."

Even though the Friends continued to be troubled and con-

demned " outgoing " marriages, after Christison's problem a definite pattern of behavior is met with in the minutes where proposed marriages are concerned. On the 14th of the 5th month, 1676, it is seen that

> Bryan Omealy and Mary Lewis Signified unto the meeting their Intentions of coming together as Husband and wife, Leaving to the Consideration and advice of Friends, upon which the meeting Requested John Pitt and Ralph Fishbourn to make Enquiry whether they were Cleere from all other persons or any miscarages and to give their answer to the next mens meeting.[77]

Finally approval was granted and the marriage took place on the 27th of the 6th month.

There were times when the meeting encountered trouble as it tried to insist upon the " good order " of Friends in these matters. Just two years later, in 1678, it is recorded that

> In as much as Obadiah Judkins and Obedience Jenner did Some time Since lay their intents of coming together as husband and wife before our man and womans meeting and the meeting advised that they should proceed no further till certificate were produced out of England on the young womans account She being but of late come into this country and that they should live apart till the Same were Effected they both did readily consent unto the Same yett notwithstanding this the young woman hath Since give way to the Subtill working of the Enemy and deceitfulness of her own heart Endeavouring to persuade Obadiah Judkins to take her contrary to y^e^ order of y^e^ truth and agreeable to y^e^ way of the world the which the Said Obadia wholy denied and bore testimony against it at a hearing of which She desired to be cleared to which Obadia readily consented as seeing her unfaithfulness to the truth. She having nothing to charge y^e^ Said Obadia withall as Shee acknowledged to John Pitt and Tho. Taylor, So y^t^ y^e^ neglect of her Solemn Ingagement to the meeting is chargable only upon her Selfe and She must bear her own burthen for the truth is cleere.[78]

A little later, there is found the following:

> Obadiah Judkins and Elizabeth Barden laid their Intentions of comeing together as husband and wife before this meeting and the meeting advised them and in love to Desist proceeding in the matter till her husband had been dead twelve months which they before this meeting gave their consent to.

One of the greatest concerns of early Quakers was that of

[77] *Ibid.*, I, 1-3, 7, 41.

[78] *Ibid.*, I, 13, 22.

marriages being performed "in the good order of Truth"—according to the unique practices of Friends. At the very beginning of the eighteenth century Talbot Friends attempted to remedy the difficulty many couples had in obtaining a certificate which would be read at the marriages and signed by all witnesses present at the ceremony. On the 26th of the 10th month, 1700, John Baynard was appointed to write all certificates of Friends marriages, and it was stated that he should be paid one shilling for every such document by the parties married.[79]

When a man and woman acquainted the meeting with their intention to get married, the women's business meeting would appoint a committee to examine her "clearness" and the men's meeting would do likewise with the man. One of the more interesting investigations of the couple's "clearness" is recorded in 1702:

> ye women friends appointed to Enquire into Elizª Deans Cleerness gave accompt that they heard by report yt Sd Elizª was not Cleere wherupon yt monthly meeting Stopt their proceedings and took farther Care to Send to ye man yt pretended an Interest in the Sd Elizª and he pretended to ye messenger She had promised him marriage and alleged to could prove it by Witnesses wherupon ye meetings messengers went to those whome he alleged were his witnesses to Enquire, who (quite Contrary to his alegacon) Said they knew noe Such thing, but Said they heard her Say yt She would never be Concerned with him, Neither has he ever come neer ye young woman since ye Said Tho: Tiler and her first appearance before our meeting upon the accº of marriage nor Come to any of ye meetings neither quarterly nor monthly meetings to make anything appear against her, all of which being taken into this meetings Consideration is not thought Suffitient to obstruct their proceedings by a bare report of his who pretending interest in her and offering proofe for it was found a fallacy, Therefore this meeting Leaves the Said Thomˢ Tiler and Elizabeth Dean to their Liberty in ye truth to Effect their intentions of marriage they appointing a time and place for yt purpose and making ye Same publick.[80]

The same reasoning that led Friends to oppose a marriage by a minister (for God alone makes a real marriage) caused them to reject those marriages by justices of the peace. Susanah Slaughter, "latte Wid: Parrott," was dealt with, in 1722, by the meeting for having been married in Pennsylvania by a justice even after being advised that it was wrong. In 1723, Edward Clark, Jr., "produced

[79] *Ibid.*, I, 173.

[80] *Ibid.*, I, 185.

a paper . . . Declaring his ignorance in Truths affairs of Marriage and his Sorrow for the Breach of the Good order of Truth " after having been married by a justice.[81]

When the meeting gave its approval to a proposed wedding, it appointed a committee to be present and report how the ceremony was accomplished. John Berry's marriage was said to have been " decently accomplished," in 1719. That of Samuel Rowland and Mary Wright, in 1763, was " not in so good order as could have been desired, by reason of a Disorderly Person coming into the Meeting and making some disturbance therein." In 1723, the committee told that Joshua Clark's marriage was " well accomplished at the meeting house But thare was Sum Disorder att the weding how (as they call itt) which is to the Disatisfaction of this meeting and the Grieff of the friends of Truth." [82]

In 1735, Talbot Friends felt a " Concern to Revive their antient Testimony against Disorderly marriages wherein Severall of our young friends have gone." As a result Susannah Baynard, Leah Parrott, Elizabeth Buckingham, Joanna Neal, Hannah Powell, and Thomas Stevens were all dealt with during the following year—with some of them being " disowned " for " marrying contrary to good order." In the 1760's the " disorderly practice of being married by priests " began to increase once more, so that on 6th month 24th, 1762, the meeting decided that " if any member should for the future be Married by a Priest, that they should be Disowned from being in Unity with friends." A committee of Friends appointed by the Eastern Shore meetings met late in 1762 to discuss this growing problem and expressed its judgment that the increase of this " outgoing in marriage " came in large part from the meetings' " too easily Accepting of Papers of Acknowledgment from such offenders." It was the committee's recommendation that those who in the future might " joyn themselves in Marriage by a Priest " should be speedily " testified against." [83]

Between 1754 and 1762, there were twenty-one cases of members of Third Haven Monthly Meeting being married by priests. And the minutes contain " papers of acknowledgment " from many of these. In 1762, however, when Thomas Edmondson, produced his

[81] *Ibid.*, I, 360, 364, 366.
[82] *Ibid.*, I, 331, 341, 371.
[83] *Ibid.*, I, 479, 491, II, 306, 329-330.

" acknowledgment for his disorderly Marriage," Friends " not seeming free to receive it *now* have continued the same till next Monthly Meeting." [84] From this point on it is easy to discern a trend towards a delay in accepting these acknowledgments. As a result, many Friends were disowned—with some of them permanently lost to the Society of Friends. Others, after some months or years, asked to be reinstated. William Dixon was disowned, in 1770, for such a marriage; in 1793, he requested membership for himself, his wife, and seven children.[85]

Holding the relationship between man and woman a sacred one and not to be entered into lightly, Friends were concerned over any immorality among their members. In 1700, Seth Garrett was " testified against " for his " Imaginations of Naomie Berrys haveing thoughts of uncleaness towards him which upon Examination is found to be nothing but his own unclean thoughts." In 1705, John Leeds caused Bayside Meeting real consternation:

From Bayside meeting accompt is given y^t^ they have been under a great exercise by means of John Leeds unto whome a young woman has Laid a Child and has taken her oath y^t^ it is his Child and friends of y^t^ meeting has dealt with him about it but he does neither Confess nor deny the Said child to be his, Therefore this meeting is concerned y^t^ Some weighty friends should vissitt him as from this meeting whereunto Will^m^ Dixon and George Bowes letts the meeting know y^t^ they are given up in their minds to perform y^t^ Service.[86]

The committee reported several visits to him, finding him always " in a Stubbourne Spirritt and full of hard heartedness." Therefore the Monthly Meeting " being Sencible of Severall reflections y^t^ have been Cast upon friends and truth upon his accompt has found an absolute necessity to draw up a publick Testimony against him and that Spirritt y^t^ ledd him into y^t^ uncleane action." [87]

In 1755, the meeting was informed that " Divers friends are Much Dissatisfied Concerning William Taylors keeping Rebekah Hanes about his house." This dissatisfaction arose from a " suspicion of their being too Intimately Concerned with each other."

[84] *Ibid.*, II, 302. Italics mine.
[85] *Ibid.*, II, 494; III, 311.
[86] *Ibid.*, I, 170, 225.
[87] *Ibid.*, I, 226. Ennion Williams was sent to read this to John Leeds and " afterwards to publish the Same as he may See Occation or give Coppies of it as Sees meete."

The meeting therefore advised Taylor " to put her away from him to Clear up the said Suspicion." The committee of Friends appointed for this task were told by the couple " that they were at present Determined not to Separate." A short time later Friends were informed by James Wilson that he and Joseph Berry had again visited William Taylor who told them that " Rebeckah Hanes and he Is now parted and She is Gone from him with Design to Live apart." Taylor, being present at this meeting on 10th month 27th, 1755, " assents thereto." By 1st month, 1756, Taylor and Rebeckah Hanes were once more back together; and upon their refusal to separate, the meeting declared both of them " out of Unity and It is the Mind of this Meeting that a Publick Testimony Should go out against them." In 1757, the following was recorded:

William Taylor gave in a paper to This meeting signed by him and Rebakah Hanes Condemning that Selfish Spirit that Lead them to Refuse the advice given to them of separating in order to cleare up a Suspicion of a too grate intimacy between them and likewise to Certifie that they have now Separated in Complyance with the S^{d} advice which paper this meeting Rec^{d} as Satisfaction provided they continue to live apart and James Wilson and Joseph Berry is appointed to have an Eye over them to See that they live answerable to the truth and make Report thereof when they see Cause.[88]

As the seventeenth century drew to a close, Talbot Friends, concerned with the spiritual welfare of their members, chose representatives from each meeting who were to gather twice a year with other " weighty friends to meete and discourse of y^{e} affaires of the Church y^{t} may be proper to be discoursed on." This " select " meeting was to be held at Third Haven Meeting House in the first and sixth months of each year and included representatives from meetings in Dorchester and Kent Counties also (Third Haven Monthly Meeting at this time contained other meetings than just the Talbot ones). Tuckahoe meeting was represented by John Pemberton, James Ridley, John Pitt, and John Wooters; Tred Haven (Third Haven) by William Dixon, William Sockwell, Abraham Morgan, and Daniel Powell; Bayside by Ennion Williams and Robert Sands; and Choptank by William Stevens, William Dickinson, and Lovelace Gorsuch.[89]

[88] *Ibid.*, II, 121, 126, 128, 131, 164.

[89] *Ibid.*, I, 167.

Early in the eighteenth century Talbot Quakers were advised by the Yearly Meeting to appoint "visitors to families" within each of their meetings. On the 11th of the 3rd month, 1718, the following were appointed: Daniel Richardson, Thomas Ball, Ruth Richardson, and Mary Lowe for Bayside; John Stevens, Samuel Dickinson, Katharine Sharp, and Judith Dickinson for Choptank; Thomas Taylor, Thomas Atkinson, Mary Edmondson, and Mary Bartlett for Third Haven; and James Willson, Thomas Buckingham, Rebecca Pitts, and Isabell Taylor for Tuckahoe.[90] These Friends were responsible for fostering the spiritual welfare of those in their meetings.

Just after the middle of the century another development, springing from much the same need, took place. In the 6th month, 1755, on the advice of the Yearly Meeting at West River, Talbot Quakers agreed to hold "a select Meeting of Ministers and Elders" at Third Haven Meeting House in the third, sixth, ninth, and twelfth months on monthly meeting day and starting at the tenth hour.

Quakers in the colonial period were concerned with the material welfare of their people as well as with their spiritual state. The rights of children were to be remembered when a widow was to be remarried. When William Dixon and Elizabeth Christison (Wenlock's widow) appeared before the Monthly Meeting, in 1680, to announce their intention of marrying, the meeting "having nothing against their coming together but for the truths Sake and their Sake did make Inquiry of Eliz[a] whether she had or would sett off any thing for her children." A committee was appointed by the meeting "to meete the next 3rd day att the widdows house to pruse the will and to see that it may be answered and to Settle the Estate as neere as may be agreeable to the Same."[91]

The widow likewise was to be looked after. In 1679 the meeting heard that "Widdow Ford" was in want and appointed Lovelace Gorsuch and John Stevenson to "Suply her with what She hass absolute Nessessity for her Selfe and Children for her present Supply." Early in 1680, the meeting appointed Sarah Edmondson and Sarah Thomas to visit the "Widdow Ford" to see "if they can prevaile with her to remove her Selfe amongst friends and if So: the meeting is willing to accept of it and to allow both her

[90] *Ibid.*, I, 323.

[91] *Ibid.*, I, 24, II, 117.

and her children a maintenance convenient"; they were also instructed to "Inspect into the bargains She Hath made aboute her Plantation and how matters Stands with her." By the 3rd month, 1682, Lovelace Gorsuch reported that he had, at the meetings orders, spent seven hundred and seventy-five pounds of tobacco to help "ye widdow Ford." On the 11th of the 10th month, 1691, the meeting expressed its desire that Friends "assit ye widdow Parrott next third day come week in repairing her house." [92]

The poor were also remembered by the meeting. The meeting ordered that Thomas Taylor be given six hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco to pay for a cow which he had supplied to John Keeld ("he being a poor man and having a charg of children"). In 1684, John Edmondson and Emanuel Jenkinson were ordered to buy a bed for Mary Swift, a widow, who had appeared "laying her Poverty before the meeting and [saying] that She had great need of a bed." This bed, costing the meeting four hundred pounds of tobacco, was provided almost immediately.

The meeting's care of its orphans was very real. On the 13th of the 11th month, 1687, the meeting "haveing before their Consideration ye accomodations and Learning of Bryon Omealias orphants gives it as their Sence that fourteen hundred pounds of tobacco be allowed yearly for Each of their accomodations and learning." A report came to the meeting on the 19th of the 8th month, 1688, that Nathaniel Cleeve's children, who had been bound out as apprentices, were suffering. The meeting advised the executors of Cleeve's estate "to goe forthwith and demand the Condicion and Likewise the Children if the time is Expired that their father Lett them for, and if it is denied then to goe to a magistrate and Request his warrant to command both Hurlock and the Condicion and See that the Children doe not Suffer." One of Nathaniel Cleeve's children was brought before the meeting, in 1691, by James Wilson and it was recorded that

> ye meeting thinks he is too young to goe to prentice and is willing he Should have one yeares Schooling first and Obadiah Judkin offers to diett him one year and James Wilson offers to pay for his yeares Schooling. This meeting kindly Accepts Sd offers upon ye Sd orphants accompt and orders Said child to goe home with Obadiah Judkin and advises Obadiah and Tho Booker to agree with ye Schoolmaster for one yeares Schooling

[92] *Ibid.*, I, 20, 25, 49, 116.

for Sd child and y^t^ they discourse y^e^ School master y^t^ Sd child be not brought up in the worlds Fashions.[93]

After the year has passed, this child was placed with John Pemberton upon " these Condicions y^t^ is to bring him up to his trade of a Copper and [that] he Learn him to read and if he can with conveniency teach him to write and he is to Imploy him in any other business until he is of ability to work at his trade."

One of the more unusual cases of the interest of Talbot Quakers in the affairs of the unfortunate is found, in 1683, when it is recorded that

Isaac Smith schoolmaster haveing lately his residence and Employment amongst friends att Kings creek and Tuccahoe and there falling into Distraction of mind and haveing formerly been in y^e^ Same condition when he lived in Virginia and in this condition being Subject to tear and destroy his Cloaths and Committ other destructive things friends thought it y^e^ best way to keep him up for y^e^ prevention of y^e^ like things and fearing worse might follow but he being broak away this meeting desieres and advises Every Respective Friend to make Inquiry after y^e^ said Isaac Smith and if they hear of him to Endeavor to persuade him to goe to the friends he came from who are very willing to doe for him and continue their care towards him in order to his being restored into his right mind but if he will not be persuaded then to acquaint y^e^ next Magistrate.[94]

All of these concerns of the meeting for its members cost money, so that from time to time Friends had to appeal for more contributions to the common fund. From 1686, there appear notices such as the following: " This meeting considering the nessissity that often happens for the relieving Poore friends and that the Stock at present for Such like Services is too Small, advises y^t^ there may be a Contribution in Each weekly meeting belonging to this monthly meeting for Such Services." [95]

In addition to their interest in their fellow Friends at home and abroad, Talbot Quakers of the colonial period, like their brethren elsewhere, exhibited a concern for their less fortunate Indian and Negro neighbors. On the 30th of the 5th month, 1686, the Monthly Meeting reported a " Consideration upon their minds Concerning y^e^ Selling of Strong Drink to y^e^ Indians." [96] This problem they decided to refer to the yearly meeting for action. William

[93] *Ibid.*, I, 54, 67, 92, 99, 115.
[94] *Ibid.*, I, 59, 116.
[95] *Ibid.*, I, 83. See also I, 95, 103, 116, 167, 188.
[96] *Ibid.*, I, 80.

Dixon, who married Elizabeth Christison, in 1684 desired to sell to one or his Negro slaves his freedom and asked the meeting's advice on this subject; he was referred to the Yearly meeting for its view on the matter. It appears that Bryon Omealia also was concerned to provide for his slaves, by selling land at " appaquinime," but failed to make provision for this in his will—so that the executor of his estate was unable to sell the land for this purpose.[97]

From early in the eighteenth century, Talbot Friends exhibited an increasing interest in the problem of slavery and in the welfare of Negroes—both slaves and freedmen. William Dixon, who, in 1684, had asked the Monthly Meeting's advice concerning selling freedom to one of his slaves, in 1708, by his will, emancipated several slaves and provided for their support by furnishing them land and means to build houses.[98]

Two people were very influential in convincing Talbot County Quakers that slavery was an evil. One was the great New Jersey Quaker John Woolman who visited this area in 1748 and again in 1766 when he made his well-known journey by foot among Eastern Shore Friends. In 1754, after much thought about the evils of Southern slavery, Woolman produced his treatise *Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*; a second part was added in 1762. This was one of the most effective treatises ever written about slavery, and had a real influence on Talbot Friends, especially when coupled with his pilgrimage to them on foot in 1766.[99]

Woolman's influence likewise made itself felt on Joseph Nichols who started a religious movement whose members finally came to be known as Nicholites or " New Quakers." Concentrated along the Delaware-Maryland border with most of their members in Caroline County, the Nicholites added to their near-Quaker way of life a testimony against slave-holding. Nichols and some of his followers such as James Harris, James Horney, and William Dawson, by their example and preaching, had some impact upon the neighboring Quakers.[100]

[97] *Ibid.*, I, 66. For a discussion of Quakers and slavery see my article " Maryland Quakers and Slavery," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLV (1950), 215-225.

[98] Talbot County Wills, Liber I, Folio 271; Third Haven Minutes, I, 66, 86.

[99] Amelia Mott Gummere, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (Philadelphia, 1922), pp. 96-97.

[100] See Kenneth L. Carroll, " Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites of Caroline County, Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLV (Mar., 1950), 47-61; " More About the Nicholites," *ibid.*, XLVI (Dec., 1951), 278-289; " The Nicholites of North Caro-

Starting in 1759 Maryland Quakers exhibited a growing awareness of the *spiritual* problems involved in slavery. In 1762, the Yearly Meeting at West River ruled that its members should not be concerned in the *importing* and *buying* of Negroes and also said that the approval of the Monthly Meeting would be necessary for a Friend to sell a slave. When Powell Cox asked Third Haven Monthly Meeting, in 1765, for permission to sell some Negroes, the Monthly Meeting appointed a committee to examine the case. Finally, it recommended that he be allowed to sell them " at private sale provided he can get good places for them." [101] In 1767, Dennis Hopkins, Sr., was called before the Monthly Meeting to explain his action in buying a slave and, in the same year, Daniel Bartlett was disowned for buying a Negro.[102] George Willson, of Tuckahoe Meeting, was disowned, in 1769, after much patient " laboring " with him for buying a slave.[103]

Beginning in 1767, there appears a number of manumissions in the records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting. Joseph Berry, on 7th month 30th, 1767, freed several of his slaves—probably the first Talbot Friend to act on this question after Woolman's 1766 foot journey. Daniel Smith was appointed by the Monthly Meeting to obtain a book in which to record these manumissions and others which were expected to follow; he was followed in this office by William Edmondson, who was in turn replaced by Richard Bartlett in 1779. Talbot Friends who freed their slaves included Benjamin Berry, Joseph Berry, Isaac Dixon, William Edmondson, Samuel Harwood, Magdalen Kemp, Tristram Needles, Mary Ann Parrott, Howell Powell, Sarah Powell, Henry Troth, James Turner, and Daniel Wilson. The greatest concentration of manumissions came between 1767 and 1771, following Woolman's journey, and between 1777 to 1780, following the Yearly Meeting's decision that slaveholding was a disownable offense.[104]

lina," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXI (Oct., 1954), 453-462; " Joseph Nichols, of Delaware: An Eighteenth Century Religious Leader," *Delaware History,* VII (Mar., 1956), 37-48; " Additional Nicholite Records," *Md. Hist. Mag.,* LII (Mar., 1957), 74-80; and " The Nicholites Become Quakers: An Example of Unity in Disunion," *Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association,* XLVII (Spring, 1958), 3-19.

[101] Third Haven Minutes, II, 381.

[102] *Ibid.*, II, 417 1/2, 424-425.

[103] *Ibid.*, II, 463.

[104] For a fuller discussion of this subject see Kenneth L. Carroll, " Maryland Quakers and Slavery," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLV (Sept., 1950), 215-225. Third Haven Minutes, II, 426.

Talbot Quakers retained an interest in their Negro neighbors, both free and slave, so that in 1774 a committee for "care and oversight" was set up. In 1779 there was a "A Concern prevailing in this [Quarterly] Meeting for the farther Instruction and encouragement of Negroes." The liberty of those Negroes who had been set free was called into question in 1784, and Talbot Friends appointed John Bartlett, James Berry, Solomon Charles, Benjamin Parvin, Richard Bartlett, and John Register "to draw up an address suitable to the occasion and present it on behalf of this meeting to the ensuing Court of Talbot County, and proceed further in the case if they should see cause." [105]

A committee appointed in 1791 to visit the Negroes reported back that,

> The Committee on the visit to the black people . . . [has] visited them in their families pretty generally to a good degree of satisfaction and found them in generall in a Situation of providing for themselves more comfortably than they expected—and were free to propose that there should be a meeting held at this place for them which claiming the consideration of this meeting it is agreed to appoint S[d] Meeting on 7th day the 14th of next Month which S[d] Committee are desired to Attend and report thereof.[106]

On the whole, life within the Quaker community in colonial Talbot County was a peaceful one. Occasionally, however, human weakness brought about a temporary break in the atmosphere of love and affection which Friends held one for another. As a result there are a handful of minutes such as the following. In 1689 it is recorded that

> Whereas there has happened Severall differences betwixt Henry Willchurch and John Edmondson so that they have both beene in a pashion and Run into bad and unsavory Expressions contrary to Truth which John Edmondson has condemned before this meeting and that Spiritt that Ledd him into those things and declares he freely forgives Henry Willchurch.

Several years later, on the 7th of the 10th month, 1694, there appears a more interesting confession of failing to "walk in Truth":

> Sarah Edmondson appeared in this meeting in Brokeness of heart and Spirritt and Declared that whereas She had Lett a Spirit of Straitness Enter

[105] *Ibid.*, III, 107, 187.

[106] *Ibid.*, III, 283.

her, against Some friends in Soe much as She Refused to give them her hand, ye Lord hass been pleased to lett her See that it was ye Enemies work, and yt by So doeing She disjoynted her selfe from ye unity of friends and declares that She is Sorry for it and does condemn yt Spirritt yt Ledd into it or anything Else yt grieved friends.[107]

Occasionally there appeared a discordant note in the life of Tuckahoe Meeting. Thomas Allcock, a rather unpredictable Friend, who had been dealt with by the meeting during the seventeenth century, was the cause of one of these unhappy episodes in 1707 when it was reported that,

From Tuccaho meeting acct is given their meeting is duly kept and friends mostly in love and unity but ye Disatisfaction is againe revived by Tho Allcock who formerly use to keep on his hatt in time of prayer he now goes out of ye meeting in ye time of a friend appearing in prayer. Therefore this meeting appoint Jno Pitt, David Arey, and Abraham Morgan to vissitt him and Deal with him as from this meeting for his Irreverent indecent and disorderly action and give accttt to our next monthly meeting.[108]

Still another difficulty faced by Tuckahoe Quakers in 1707 concerned Jeremiah Jadwyn who

went to a priest and was by him Sprinkled notwithstanding which he would, and did by the assistance of his mother, fatherinlaw and his own wife Contrary to Friends order Interrd a Child of his in friends buriing ground—and yt also ye afore named persons have neglected Comeing to meetings. Therefore this meeting appoints George Bowes, Abraham Morgan, David Arey and John Pitt to vissitt them . . . and advise them for the future to walk more orderly and that in the feare of god according to the Truth which they have made proffession of.[109]

In 1729, Thomas Silvestor buried his wife, who was " out of unity with Friends," in the Tuckahoe graveyard. When the meeting sent James Barwell and Robert Walker to enquire " of the Sd Silvester who gave him leve to Bury in Sd yard he said it was Edward Clark who gave him liberty." When Edward Clark denied ever having given Silvestor this permission, the committee was sent back to Silvestor once more to notify him that " friends Expect Satisfaction for his Trespas." [110]

In the second half of the eighteenth century Tuckahoe Meeting experienced more difficulty—this time with James Willson and

[107] *Ibid.*, I, 102, 132.
[108] *Ibid.*, I, 235.
[109] *Ibid.*, I, 241.
[110] *Ibid.*, I, 418, 420.

William Willson who were charged with " appearing frequently in their meetings in a Spirit of anger and Opposition much to the dissatisfaction of that Meeting." James Kemp, appointed by the Monthly Meeting to visit James Willson, reported that Willson promised that he " would strive to refrain from being active in the Meetings of Business for the future "; Joseph Bartlett and Jonathan Neale were then sent to visit James Willson, " to Labour with him in Love in order to bring him to a Sight of his Misconduct." On the 30th of the 9th month, 1762, some four months after the complaint had first been made, Bartlett and Neale reported back that James Willson

> told them that he intended not to sett in Preparative Meetings of Business for the future, for if he saw things going amiss as he had done, he could not help opposing; and as for what the Meeting requests he could not comply with, because when he saw things go Wrong he thought it his duty to oppose them. And as for his appearing in a Spirit of Anger he did freely acknowledge that he was Sorry for [it], which acknowledgement is received as Satisfaction, provided he refrains being active in Meetings of Business untill he is received in full Unity.[111]

A small division appears to have developed in the ranks of Talbot County Quakers toward the end of the 1680's. George Bowse (Bowes) and his wife Margaret seem to have been the primary cause of this unfortunate development. Several times they had been " dealt with by Severall Friends and yet . . . appeared publically in meeting by way of Testimony to the disatisfaction of friends, they having no unity with them." George and Margaret circulated a " Long Paper " and were therefore asked to appear before the meeting. On the 10th of the 11th month, 1689, " this meeting querys of them wheather they will Stand to Its Judgment Concerning what they have writt and be advised by this meeting." With their " utterly refuseing Soe to doe " it was the sense of the meeting that " they are out of unity with Gods People." [112]

The meeting still possessed a " godly concern upon their minds for the good of George Bowse and his wife though they have been very stubborn and willfull wholly Rejecting the love of god in friends." Therefore William Kenton, William Sockwell, John Wootters, John Ashdell, James Ridley, and Richard Hall were appointed to visit them. They reported back, in 1690, that George

[111] *Ibid.*, II, 303, 309, 314.

[112] *Ibid.*, I, 104.

and Margaret Bowse were " still Stubborn and Selfe Willed utterly Rejecting the Advice of Friends who Dealt with them in Love and Tenderness." [113]

A joint quarterly meeting of Friends from both shores met at Ralph Fishbourne's house and " haveing an understanding of the Dangerous State and Condicon that George Bowse and his wife is in and the hurt that they may doe to Some, through their flattering pretending motions," recommended on the 25th of the 1st month, 1690, that the Monthly Meeting " give forth a Publick Testimony against them to Cleare the truth of them and the Spirritt by which they are acted in Opposeing friends and y^e^ good order of truth." This " Public Testimony " against George and Margaret Bowse was approved by the Monthly Meeting on the 2nd of the 3rd month, 1680, and ordered to be made public.[114]

Apparently George and Margaret had some influence over several other Friends for, in 1690, Richard Ratcliff, announced to the meeting that he would refrain from George Bowse's company and also condemned some earlier words " which has grieved friends." In 1694, papers condemning their action in keeping separate meetings were received by the meeting from John Wagstaff and Ralph Jackson.

In 1695, William Sharp and William Stevens expressed a concern to visit George and Margaret Bowse and asked the meeting to agree to this desire, giving approval also for William Sockwell, John Wooters, and John Pitt to accompany them. This act seems to have started the process of reconciliation to moving, for in the following year Margaret Bowse presented to the meeting " her paper of Condemnation " which was satisfactory to the meeting. The next record of this couple appears on the 28th of the 7th month, 1698:

> George Bowes acquaints this Meeting that he finds drawings in his mind to Remove himself and wife into old England to Dwell saying that he does believe he may be of more service upon truths accompt there than here and therefore he desires friends unity therwith, this Meeting haveing considered the matter Signifies that they are willing to leave him to his Christian liberty in Truth.[115]

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[113] *Ibid.*, I, 105.
[114] *Ibid.*, I, 106-107.
[115] *Ibid.*, I, 105, 139, 146, 157.

Talbot Quakers, like their brethren elsewhere, were quite active in spreading their religious beliefs. A number of traveling Friends are found among them. In the 2nd month, 1678, the minutes recorded that,

> John Webb haveing built a boate Suitable for ye Service of Truth and accomodating friends in ye ministry in their Travails to Virginia or Otherways and haveing riged and fitted her Every way for Service did Intend her for ye Service of truth and Friends upon his Own charge, but ye meeting Judging it to be too great a charge to Lie upon him She being for publick Service on the accº of truth have thought fitt and doe Judg it meete yt John Webb Should have paid him out of ye stock this year ye Sum of Twenty Six hundred pounds of good tobacco and that ye Sd boate is committed by this Meeting to ye custody, charge and Safe Keeping of Jnº Webb, Wm Stevens Junr, Wm Sharp and Lovelace Gorsuch for ye Service afd She and all things belonging to her properly being ye meetings and not to be Disposed of but by order from ye mens meetings or as ye above-sd Friends shall See meete for ye Service aforesaid.[116]

This boat, later named " Ye Good Will," was still in existence in 1684 when the meeting appointed Bryon Omealia and Thomas Booker to " Discourse Richard Mitchell about friends Boat called ye good will and view her and take an accompt of her Sailes and Riggin yt belongs unto her." They reported back, on the 4th of the 5th month, 1684, that " She is altogether unfitt for Service and will cost more to fitt her for Service than She and all belongs to her is worth." The " Good Will " was therefore sold to Henry Parrott for a hogshead of tobacco.[117]

This interest which Talbot Quakers had in the state of the Society of Friends at home and abroad led them to approve a visit of William Berry and Stephen Keddy to Virginia in 1680—for all were troubled by " the sad Estate and Condition of the Church in Virginia," then undergoing persecution. At the same time the Monthly Meeting (including the Weekly Meetings of Betty's Cove, Tuckahoe, Bayside, and Choptank) appointed William Berry, William Richardson, and Thomas Taylor to correspond with Friends in Barbados " concerning the affairs of the church and the prosperity of truth." [118]

Still another sign of this missionary zeal and emphasis among Talbot Friends can be seen in the great number of those who accompanied Elizabeth Carter in her " Travailes to Vissitt Friends

[116] *Ibid.*, I, 9. [117] *Ibid.*, I, 64-65. [118] *Ibid.*, I, 30-31.

in the Service of the Truth." Accompanying her on this visit to Delaware were Margaret Berry, Sarah Edmondson, Sara Pitt, Mary Omealia, John Pitt, William Southbee, Bryon Omealia, John Wooters, and Lovelace Gorsuch. In the same way William Sockwell and William Sharp, carrying a report written by John Pitt and William Berry, attended the Burlington Yearly Meeting (the forerunner of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting) in 1686. William Kenton and Ralph Fisbourne received permission from the Monthly Meeting in 1692 to visit meetings and Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In this same year William Berry informed the meeting that his father had ordered a mare to be given to Friends for the use of "Travailing Friends." This mare, "given for Sd use by Martha Berry," was placed in the care of William Sockwell until needed.[119]

At the same time that Talbot Quakers were interested in other Quakers, one sees that they were likewise in the thoughts of Friends elsewhere. Correspondence from "our Dear friend George Fox" was "Read in this meeting to y^e^ great Satisfaction thereof" on the 20th of the 5th month, 1683. Another letter from Fox, accompanying General Epistles, was read in 1689. A final letter from George Fox, "our antient Friend and Faithfull Labourer in the Gospell," which had been left sealed and opened after Fox's death was read on the 5th of the 12th month, 1691. Several letters were received in 1689 and 1691 from Daniel Gould who had labored among Talbot Quakers, in 1682. The year, 1691, also brought epistles from William Penn and George Whitehead. In the eighteenth century, Talbot Friends received visits from fifty-nine travelling Friends who, much like George Fox earlier, attended the Monthly Meeting. These included such well-known Quakers as John Fothergill, in 1705, Robert Jordan, in 1719, John Woolman, in 1748 and 1766, John Churchman, in 1775, Martha Routh, in 1796, Joshua Evans, in 1797, and Elias Hicks, in 1798.[120] Other travelling Friends visited this area but did not attend Monthly Meeting—so that their names were not recorded in the minutes of the business meeting.

Talbot Quakerism showed its continued vitality in the eighteenth century by producing a number of Friends who travelled "in

[119] *Ibid.*, I, 41-43, 79, 118, 121.

[120] *Ibid.*, I, 54, 58, 100-101, 113, 117, 221, 335, II, 26, 400-401, III, 56, 351, IV, 1, 5.

Truth's service." George Bowes visited parts of Pennsylvania, in 1705, meetings in Delaware, in 1711, and returned to Pennsylvania, in 1715 and again in 1717. In 1709, George Bowes accompanied Ennion Williams who received a certificate from the meeting to " visitt the seed of God upon y^e^ Eastern Shore of Maryland, Virginia and up some part of Pennsylvania." In 1711, Ennion Williams was among Pennsylvania Friends, while, in 1719, he travelled to Philadelphia and then visited Barbados toward the end of that year.[121]

Peter Sharp was another Talbot Quaker who travelled in the first half of the century. In 1721, he visited Friends in the eastern part of Virginia and in Pennsylvania, and two years later acquainted the meeting with the fact that " he hath sumthing upon his Spirritt to visitt the Meetings in Sum p^t^ of Pennsylvania and Jersey "—receiving the meeting's approval. A few years later, in 1730 and 1732, Sharp visited Friends in New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.[122]

The last Talbot Friend to travel " in Truth's Service," in the first half of the century, was Elizabeth Stevens who went to Philadelphia, in 1732, and who visited the Yearly Meeting at Salem, N. J., in 1741. In 1744, she visited Friends in Virginia and the Carolinas—the last journey recorded for her in Third Haven records, for she received a certificate of removal to Philadelphia in 1748.[123]

Talbot Quakers produced a number of travelling Friends in the last half of the eighteenth century. One of the most widely travelled was Mary Berry who visited Friends on both the Eastern Shore and Western Shore, in 1799 or 1780; and in 1782, accompanied by Solomon Charles, she " passed through Dorchester, Somerset, Wooster, Accomak and Northampton Counties in which she had divers Publick meetings and private Oppertunities amongst the People which produced peace to their Minds." In 1784, she visited families of Friends at the Queen Anne's Meeting (in the upper part of Caroline County) and some who were not Friends. Accompanied by Tristram Needles, she labored among the Cecil Monthly Meeting Friends of Kent County, in 1787, and, with Thomas Wickersham, visited Pennsylvania Quakers, in 1788. In

[121] *Ibid.*, I, 223, 272, 304, 321, 251, 273, 333.
[122] *Ibid.*, I, 352-353, 369, 430, 438, 440.
[123] *Ibid.*, I, 446, 514-515, 549; II, 21.

1789, Mary Berry received the permission of the Monthly Meeting for " Some religious Service to a people not professing with us in some part of Dorchester and Caroline Counties with an openess to visit some of the people called Nicolites." She was joined, in this trip to the Nicholites, by Rebeccah Bartlett, John Dickinson, and Solomon Charles. 1790 saw her, accompanied by Daniel Matthews, visiting Western Shore Friends and meetings in Virginia; and, in 1792, she made her way southward to North Carolina —accompanied by Rebeccah Bartlett, Ephraim Parvin, and Samuel Troth. Accompanied by Martha Yarnall and Tristram Needles she headed south again, in 1793, visiting " some of the Meetings of Friends on the Western Shore of Maryland and Virginia and most of those in North Carolina, and all in South Carolina and Georgia." In 1794, she visited Friends in Delaware and Annapolis and planned a trip to the West Indies, in 1795, but, because of war conditions, advanced age, and " bodily infirmaty " found it impossible to make this trip. She was still active in her religious work at the end of the century, visiting Pennsylvania Friends, in 1797, and Quaker families on the Western Shore at the close of 1799.[124]

The meeting, with its two-fold function of worship and business, constituted a community which has been described as " a well-integrated group in which the individual is united to the whole as a cell is to an organism." This, as has been seen, was both a religious and economic unit—with membership bringing both privileges and obligations and a dependence upon one another for spiritual well-being and material necessities. Through it came the Quaker code of behavior; the enlightened conscience and social concerns of the group and its members; the Quaker doctrine of equality, " an equality of respect, and the resulting absence of all words and behavior based on class, racial, or social distinctions "; [125] simplicity of worship, speech, and life; and harmony within the meeting.

Talbot Friends were a branch of a much larger family—the Society of Friends, which only a few years after its founding spread rapidly on both sides of the Atlantic. This sense of relation-

[124] *Ibid.*, III. 116 *et passim*; IV, 2-3, 41.

[125] Howard Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years: The History and Beliefs of the Society of Friends since George Fox Started the Quaker Movement* (New York, 1952), p. 118. See the chapter " The Meeting Community," pp. 118-143.

ship to other Quakers, demonstrated both by visits and correspondence to and from Friends elsewhere, was very much alive in the colonial period.

At the same time that Talbot Quakers existed, in a sense, as a separated community, they were also very much a part of the life around them. Important merchants, planters, tobacco "dealers," and public officials were to be found among them—in spite of the difficulties stemming from their opposition to oaths and the established church. Probably few Friends outside the Quaker colonies were as successful as Talbot Quakers in public life during this age. Talbot Quakerism, a strong and growing movement throughout the whole colonial period, was quite influential in the life of the greater community in which it existed.

It is more difficult to judge the deeper aspect of the religion of Talbot Quakers in this age. They possessed no well-known interpreters of Quakerism. Sometimes the "letter of the law" became more important than the spirit so that too much concern over dress, plain speech, and some other testimonies is sometimes seen. Yet, as one reads the minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting, he senses something very vital about the individual and corporate religious life of Talbot Quakers. In the eighteenth century, when organized religion was at a low ebb, according to the Journals of travelling ministers, a Quaker center was often viewed as "a lively remnant in the land." Rufus Jones' evaluation of Quakers in the South during this period seems to be valid for Talbot Quakers:

> They were more sensitive, I think, than their neighbours to the meaning of social evils, and they were more intensely concerned to be in harmony with the will of God. They failed, where so many others have failed, by building little tabernacles over their mounts of vision, by trying to keep for themselves a Light meant for the race, and by failing to grasp, *intelligently*, their principle of religion, which became to them a kind of fetish, untranslatable to the world about them; but they did bless the world by producing here and there, now and then, specimens of personal lives, penetrated by the Spirit of Christ, radiant with His Light, taking upon themselves the burdens of the world and living in a busy and material world as though they knew that their main business here was to help to bring in the kingdom of peace and love and brotherhood. In so far as they did *that*, they succeeded.[126]

[126] Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 328, cites Samuel Fothergill's Memoirs (p. 166) where he also calls them "purified hearts in which the word of God grows."

BLOOMSBURY TODAY

BLOOMSBURY, A CRADOCK HOUSE IN THE WORTHINGTON VALLEY

By William Voss Elder, III

A FEW miles from the village of Glyndon in Baltimore County and in the western end of the Worthington Valley there stands a two story brick colonial house whose early history has only recently come to light. The original name of the plantation was *Bloomsbury*, and it was the home of a branch of the Cradock family during the last half of the eighteenth century. The house is an excellent example of its architectural period, and of equal interest is the history of the land.

The first member of the family to come to America was the Reverend Thomas Cradock who in 1743 assumed the duties of rector of the newly founded St. Thomas Church in Garrison Forest, built as a chapel of ease for the "Forest inhabitants" of St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore. Thomas Cradock soon married Catherine Risteau, the daughter of Capt. John Risteau of Baltimore County. As a wedding present from his new father-in-law Thomas Cradock received the tract of land called *Trentam* which borders on the Reisterstown Road at Garrison and is still owned by the Cradock family.

Four children were born to Thomas and Catherine Cradock, three sons and one daughter. Arthur Cradock, the eldest son, was to have entered the ministry but he died unexpectantly in 1769 at the age of only twenty one. The other sons, John and Thomas Cradock, both studied to be physicians. They attended medical school in Philadelphia, and in addition were instructed by a Doctor Randall Hulse. Doctor Hulse had practised medicine in England before coming to Maryland, where he and his wife went to live with the Cradocks at *Trentam*. At this time Reverend Thomas Cradock was conducting a boys boarding school at *Trentam* and possibly Dr. Hulse was there to help with their

education. This school was in existence until Reverend Cradock's death, and it is said to have been attended by the sons of many leading Maryland colonial families.

Reverend Thomas Cradock died in 1770, and under the provisions of his will,[1] Thomas Cradock received the home plantation, *Trentam*, and John Cradock received the land his father owned in the Worthington Valley. This land and the house upon it was soon to be known as *Bloomsbury*, and here Doctor John Cradock lived until his death in 1794.[2]

This land in the western end of the Worthington Valley had been purchased by Reverend Thomas Cradock from Roger Boyce [3] on April 10, 1761. It was part of a large tract of land called *Nicholson's Manor* which had been patented to William Nicholson an Annapolis merchant, on June 20, 1719.[4] *Nicholson's Manor* contained 4400 acres, and with two other tracts of land, *Shawan Hunting Ground* and *Welsh's Cradle,* occupied the entire area of land that has come to be known as the Worthington Valley, stretching eastward from Glyndon to Cockeysville. These three tracts of land were all patented within the first twenty years of the eighteenth century, while the land to the north was for the most part held in Lord Baltimore's Reserve until the time of The American Revolution.[5] Of these three tracts of land only one, *Shawan Hunting Ground*, was settled by its original patentee. *Welsh's Cradle* was repatented by the Worthington family, and *Nicholson's Manor* lay idle for many years until it was seized by the provincial government for forfeiture of taxes and then repatented.

William Nicholson died on September 5, 1719, only four months after he had patented *Nicholson's Manor.* He was a wealthy and prominent Annapolis merchant who had large land holdings in the town and in Anne Arundel County. He obviously patented *Nicholson's Manor* out of speculation without ever intending to live there. The patent covered the western end of Worthington

[1] Hall of Records, Annapolis, Wills 37, f. 394.

[2] This information and other material on the Cradock Family can be found in the Cradock Papers, MS, Maryland Historical Society.

[3] Baltimore County Land Records, Hall of Records, Annapolis B. no. L, f. 182.

[4] Baltimore County Land Records, P. L. no. 4, f. 413.

[5] The actual reserve line practically fell on the northern boundary of *Nicholson's Manor.*

Valley, and then after skirting to the north of *Welsh's Cradle* and *Shawan Hunting Ground* it fanned out into a large tract stretching eastward practically to the York Road. The outline of the tract shows that Nicholson patented all of the best land that had not been included in earlier surveys.

The children of William Nicholson were very young at his death and apparently neither they nor their guardians took any interest in the land in Baltimore County. Approximately thirty years later in the Maryland Gazette of November 18, 1749,[6] *Nicholson's Manor* was advertised for sale by the heirs of William Nicholson. No improvements or appurtenances were mentioned. Apparently there were no bidders for in 1757 by a deed of bargain and sale [7] Benjamin Tasker, Esq., of the city of Annapolis granted the 4400 acres of *Nicholson's Manor* to four persons, Kinsey Johns, Corbin Lee, Roger Boyce, and Brian Philpot. The land was received by seizure and possession. In turn these four men divided the land into four sections, with each section further divided into three lots, one in the eastern, one in the central, and one in the western part of the entire tract. The end result was that each of the four men had three lots unconnected but which totalled over a thousand acres.[8] The location of each lot had been predetermined before the men drew for the location of their lands.

In 1758, one year after he had received the land, Corbin Lee conveyed his third or westerly lot to Roger Boyce.[9] Two of the four westerly lots were then owned by Roger Boyce, but on April 10, 1761, he conveyed the two tracts of land to Reverend Thomas Cradock.[10] The "bargained pieces of land with all their "premises and appurtenances" were bought by Cradock for two hundred pounds sterling. The total area of both tracts was 676 acres. The Cradock house *Bloomsbury* stands on the western lot that had originally been assigned to Roger Boyce.

It is most likely that *Bloomsbury* was built by Reverend Thomas Cradock shortly after he had purchased the land in 1761. Reverend Cradock lived at *Trentam* until his death in 1770, but undoubtedly

[6] The writer is indebted to Mr. William B. Marye for this reference, taken from his article, "The Great Maryland Barrens." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, L (Sept., 1955).
[7] Baltimore County Land Records, B no. G, f. 10.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*, B. no. G, f. 204.
[10] *Ibid.*, B, no. I, f. 182.

Bloomsbury had been quickly developed into a producing plantation. Reverend Cradock's will further strengthens this belief. The eldest son Arthur Cradock had died one year before his father. Consequently, Dr. John Cradock, the second son, was the likely heir to the home plantation *Trentam.* However, in his will Reverend Cradock expressed the desire that John Cradock receive instead the land on *Nicholson's Manor.* Although he had the privilege of choosing whichever tract he desired, John Cradock never-the-less chose the land on *Nicholson's Manor.*

Thus it would seem that in 1770 *Bloomsbury* was as equally desirable and valuable as *Trentam.* Only a suitably constructed dwelling house could make such a comparison possible. In the will of Thomas Cradock both *Trentam* and *Bloomsbury* are spoken of as plantations equipped with all of the necessary tools and stock. Since he was twenty one years of age at his father's death, John Cradock may have been living at *Bloomsbury*, built by Thomas Cradock in anticipation of leaving both sons equally provided for.

Dr. John Cradock was born at *Trentam* in 1749.[11] In 1775, at the age of twenty five he married Anne Worthington, the daughter of John and Mary Todd Worthington. She was sixteen years of age at the time. Doctor Cradock was active during the American Revolution and was a member of The Committee of Observation from 1774 to 1775. Before his sudden death in 1794 he was a devoted physician working with Dr. Weisenthal of Baltimore administering to the poor of Baltimore County. Dr. Cradock was buried in the family lot at St. Thomas Church. He was survived by his wife and two children, Arthur and Catherine Cradock.

The Tax Records of 1798 [12] for The Upper Back River Hundred list Anne Cradock as the owner and occupant of *Bloomsbury.* At this date the plantation contained only 338 acres, one half of its original size. The land and improvements were valued at five hundred pounds. Thirty seven years earlier in 1761 twice as much land had been purchased for only two hundred pounds, indicating that most likely the dwelling house was built by the Cradocks

[11] The Cradock Papers.

[12] The Tax Records for the Upper Back River Hundred of 1798, MS, Maryland Historical Society.

and not at an earlier date. According to the Tax Records the following buildings were standing at *Bloomsbury* in 1798:

1 brick dwelling house, 2 stories 26 x 48 feet
1 stone kitchen, 1 story 18 x 30 feet
1 log house 14 x 16, old frame house 14 x 14

Measurements of the existing brick house at *Bloomsbury* correspond to those given for the dwelling house but all of the other structures have disappeared.

Bloomsbury has suffered over the years through the ownership of many families, each making additions and alterations. The original floor plan has been changed but enough structural evidence remains to indicate its original form. The plan would seem to be of an earlier date than the actual building of the house and was very similar to that of *Larkins Hills*, a late seventeenth century house in Anne Arundel County. However, the architectural styles of the upper bay counties were often many years behind those of Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore. Often, as in the case of *Bloomsbury*, a seemingly early floor plan was the result of the size of the house and its intended use.

In its original state *Bloomsbury* had three rooms on the first floor. One entered a combination entrance hall and sitting room that ran parallel to the main axis of the house. Behind this room there was an enclosed stairway and a small room that might have served as a kitchen or dining room.[13] The entrance to the stairhall was directly in line with the front door. Two adjoining cater-cornered fireplaces provided the necessary heat for the hall and the room behind it. These fireplaces have been removed but the cater-cornered brick arches and the hearth supports can still be seen in the cellar. To the left of the front door and accessible from both the entrance hallway and the enclosed stairway was a large living room which occupied half of the first floor area. This room is the same size today after restoration. On the outside end wall there is a wide arched brick fireplace surrounded by panelling and flanked by two inset cupboards.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the summer beam sup-

[13] The brickwork on the exterior wall of this room shows that a doorway has been bricked up. Perhaps it led to the stone kitchen mentioned in the Tax Records of 1798.

porting the ceiling of the living room cracked and was replaced by a partition running lengthwise across the center of the room. The fireplace now cut in half and useless was bricked up. If the panelling had been allowed to remain in view, it would have been irregular in design and one wonders why it was not removed entirely. Instead it was covered over by new plaster walls in each room. The panelling was flush with the front of the chimney and perhaps it was spared to prevent a projecting chimney corner in each room. Consequently, when the present owners of *Bloomsbury* removed the partition in the living room and began to search for a fireplace in the outside wall, they discovered this original panelling that had been covered over nearly a hundred years earlier.

All of the other interior woodwork and trim has disappeared over the years except for the panelled frame around the front door. The front double doors are original, but all of the others in the house are of recent date. Remains of interior window shutters were found in a barn on the place and their previous existence is further supported by the memory of a colored man whose family until recent years had always lived at *Bloomsbury.* He can also remember when other rooms on the first floor were panelled in the same fashion as the living room.

The living room panelling is of a simple design. It is made up of large rectolinear panels with bolection joints and is topped by a heavy cornice, restored to its original appearance by the present owners. The panelling extends to within six inches of the arched fireplace opening in its restored state, but during the nineteenth century alterations the original line of the panelling above the fireplace was changed and it was only by conjecture that it was arched to follow the top of the fireplace opening.

On the exterior of *Bloomsbury* one immediately notices the size of the first floor windows. The double hung sashes contain twelve panes of glass over eight, and all of the first floor windows on the front of the house are original. Above these first floor windows are rubbed and gauged bricks, an architectural feature unique in this area of Baltimore County, but prevalent at this date in many Annapolis buildings. The thin window frames and muntin bars are also of a more advanced building style than those of other buildings in the Worthington Valley of similar date. Again when

compared to the style of the windows and the rubbed brick dressings the existing panelling at *Bloomsbury* would appear to be of an earlier date. The answer to such discrepancies undoubtedly can be reached by realizing the resources at hand and the intended purpose of a structure will in large part dictate the resultant architectural style, not the period in which the house might have been built. The front porch at *Bloomsbury* is a later addition by the present owners, designed from what evidence remained of an earlier porch. The foundation walls at *Bloomsbury* are of local fieldstone, and in some places in the cellar their thickness exceeds three feet. A few feet above ground level on the exterior of the house a water table is formed by one row of molded bricks in quarter moon shape. The front and rear walls of *Bloomsbury* are laid in flemish bond, and in the end walls rows of all headers divided every three rows of ordinary bond. The house has been painted many times, making it impossible to determine whether or not there may be a glazed pattern formed by the flemish bond of the front and rear walls.

The two story brick addition to *Bloomsbury* was built some time after 1798, as it is not mentioned in the tax records of that year. Most likely this addition dates from the opening years of the nineteenth century when the property was owned by the Worthington family. Remains of a foundation wall, discovered by the present owners, show that another wing existed to the right of the house. This also would have to date from the time of the Worthingtons. Other old structures which have disappeared from *Bloomsbury* are a large stone slave house which stood down in the meadow to the left of the house and an early nineteenth century brick barn which burnt to the ground a few years ago.

Before his death, in 1794, Dr. John Cradock was in very poor financial condition. Probably his generosity and devotion in treating the sick had prevented proper management of his plantation and a sufficient livelihood from medicine. In the same years, as his death he had mortgaged *Bloomsbury*[14] to his brother, Dr. Thomas Cradock. At his death in 1794, Dr. John Cradock left a son, Arthur Cradock, only twelve years of age. Arthur Cradock and his mother continued to live at *Bloomsbury*, and twelve years

[14] Baltimore County Land Records, W. G. no. pp, f. 94.

later on March 21, 1806, Dr. Thomas Cradock deeded[15] the property to Arthur Cradock for the sum of $7359. Obviously the land had been held in guardianship by Dr. Thomas Cradock until his nephew came of age. Four days after this transaction Arthur Cradock re-mortgaged the property to his uncle and cousin Thomas Cradock Walker for $3200.[16] This new mortgage was in the nature of a family agreement, for the two gentlemen were to be " tenants in common for the next 500 years " and were to receive a yearly rent of one pepper corn on the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel.

Three and a half years later on September 14, 1809,[17] Dr. Thomas Cradock deeded *Bloomsbury* to Arthur Cradock, who on the same day sold the property to John Tolley Worthington for $10,000.[18] This property and other tracts of adjoining lands also purchased by Worthington were then incorporated into one large tract and given the name of *The Cottage* or *Welcome Here.*[19] This latter name is used by the present owners of *Bloomsbury.*

John Tolley Worthington made his home at *Montmorenci*, the large stuccoed fieldstone house and the best known of all the Worthington houses in the valley. It is unknown who occupied *Bloomsbury* immediately after he purchased the land. The new name, *The Cottage*, given to the property implies that perhaps the house was used only on occasions or was perhaps occupied by some of John Tolley Worthington's family. When the word cottage is applied to a building one usually thinks of a house of only one or one and a half stories in height. The second floor windows at *Bloomsbury* while not of recent date are quite unlike those of the first story, and possibly they are from a time when the roof was raised to a full two stories. It is impossible to trace any alteration in the exterior brick work because of the successive applications of paint. Also since all of the interior trim, with the exception of that of the living room, has been removed and replaced, it is not possible to find evidence for raising the roof in different architectural trims. Perhaps if someday the layers of

[15] Baltimore County Land Records, Baltimore Court House W. G. 89, f. 194.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*, W. G. 104, f. 369.
[18] *Ibid.*, W. G. 104, f. 371.
[19] *Ibid.*

paint are removed an original gambrel roof line will show in the brickwork.

Through the Worthingtons, *Bloomsbury* was inherited by the Love family, and then changed hands again in the nineteenth century before it came to be owned by the Geist family. They lived at *Bloomsbury* for nearly a hundred years, until the property was purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Williams in 1948. Since then the house and the property have been greatly improved without being over restored. To the right of the house Mr. and Mrs. Williams have designed a formal sunken garden with a high brick wall separating it from the fields beyond. The grounds have been beautifully landscaped and once more *Bloomsbury* is cared for as it must have been in the days it was owned by the Cradock family.

AN EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF MRS. HUGH H. LEE OF WINCHESTER, VA., MAY 23-31, 1862

Edited by C. A. Porter Hopkins

ONE of the most interesting accounts of civilian life in the South during the Civil War is contained in the journal of Mrs. Hugh Holmes Lee of Winchester which has lain for many years in the Maryland Historical Society with only an occasional student aware of its existence. The journal describes the Winchester and Frederick County scene from early March 1862 until February 1865 when Mrs. Lee and other members of her household were banished from the area by Major General Sheridan for " giving constant annoyance, either from the sake of notoriety or from want of reflection or a want of being true to themselves." [1] The original journal was written in ink in a neat hand so small as to almost necessitate the constant use of a magnifying glass when reading it. The typescript, which is in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society through the kindness of Mrs. D. M. Skinner, formerly of Baltimore, now of Princeton, N. J., runs to six hundred and fifty-one pages, of which the section included here is but thirteen pages. Those thirteen pages, however, deal with one of the most exciting times of the war in Winchester, commencing on Friday night, May 23rd, 1862, and ending Saturday, May 31st.

Mary Charlton Greenhow was born in Richmond, September 9, 1819, the daughter of Robert Greenhow and his second wife, Jane Charlton of Williamsburg.[2] On May 18, 1843, Mary Charlton

[1] Headquarters Middle Military Division. Special Order Number 47, Extract 7, February 23, 1865. A photostatic copy of this order is in the possession of descendants.

[2] This and all other information on the family of Mrs. Lee not otherwise noted is to be found in private papers in the possession of Mrs. D. M. Skinner (Mary Greenhow Lee Poe) of Princeton, N. J., to whom the Maryland Historical Society is indebted for the possession and use of the journal.

Greenhow married Hugh Holmes Lee, son of Daniel and Elizabeth Lee, of Winchester, Virginia. Hugh Lee died in 1858, and his widow, having no children of her own, made her home with her two sisters-in-law, helping them bring up four motherless children of another sister, Mrs. Philip Lewis Burwell of Carters Grove. The Lee home in Winchester was a center of Southern sympathy and activities, and in her daily accounts Mrs. Lee mentions many Confederate officers and men who partook of her hospitality.

After the war Mrs. Lee moved to Baltimore with many other Southern people, and there made her home at 806 Saint Paul Street. According to papers in the possession of her great niece, Mrs. D. M. Skinner, of Princeton, N. J., she was one of the organizers of the Daughters of the Confederacy and an officer of the Baltimore Chapter until her death in 1906. She also served as secretary of the "Southern Education Society" which assisted in the rebuilding of destroyed Southern schools, and through many other acts of kindness endeared herself to the people of Baltimore. Less well-known than her half-brother's wife, "Rebel Rose," her name may one day become as famous if the proper biographer comes along.

The section which follows deals with the occupation and evacuation of Winchester by General Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson in May of 1862. That general, after much adroit manoeuvring in the early spring, had concealed his plans from General Nathaniel P. Banks, the Federal Commander in the Valley, and marched by way of the Luray Valley to within ten miles of Front Royal by the 22nd of May. Here on the afternoon of the 23rd, Colonel John R. Kenly of the First Maryland (Federal) Regiment with 1,000 men and two guns was overwhelmed by a force which contained, among other units, the First Maryland Regiment, C. S. A.[3] This action, in effect, flanked General Banks at Strasburgh, and his rapid evacuation of that place commenced.

The 24th of May was spent fighting down the Valley Turnpike towards Winchester as the finally aroused Banks hurried his army away from what seemed to be annihilation. At three o'clock, an

[3] Colonel G. F. R. Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson And The American Civil War* (2 vol.; New York, 1913), I, 310-320. General Jackson's report is to be found in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), Series 1, XII, Part 1, 701-709, hereafter cited *O. R.*

hour before dawn, on the 25th of May, Jackson finally halted his tired army. The attack came soon after as the mists rose from the low areas surrounding Winchester, and in a short time the streets of Winchester echoed to the joyous shouts of the happy people. For detailed accounts of the action at Winchester and the week that followed, the reader is referred to Coloniel G. F. R. Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War*, Volume I, and the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Volume XII, Part I.

The editor has made no changes from the original manuscripts except where indicated by brackets. Those persons not further identified by footnotes are either citizens of Winchester mentioned only one time, or they have exhausted the sources available to the editor. It is hoped that additional extracts will be edited from time to time, as so brief a section cannot possibly give the full flavor of the journal.

Friday night [May 23, 1862]—The Yankees are still here & also a thousand rumours about Jackson; one is, that he is certainly at Blues [Gap]; Banks is certainly in a trap, between [Richard S.] Ewell on one side, & Jackson on the other. The papers, or rather the extracts from the Northern & foreign papers, are most delightful; they furnish us not only comfort, but so much amusement. There is an idea that Jackson will be here tomorrow night; I am perfectly confident that our deliverance is near, & I am one moment all activity to try to get things in readiness for them, & then again so overcome, by the first warm weather, that I am almost incapable of exertion. Of course all arrangements & plans are very different for the two dynasties. What glorious accounts we have from Richmond, & how my heart warms to my dear old home. I love to think of you as being there. No particular home news to-day; I had a nice fruit cake made to send Mrs. Taylor; she has been so kind & saved so much money for us, in purchases she has made in Baltimore. Still later, as the telegrams say, there is great excitement to-night; wagons are coming in; cavalry dashing by & we have put out our lights to reconnoitre; there is a sentinal opposite my windows, & we can hear him questioning the passers by; there has been some fight at Front Royal, & when the man was asked what was the issue, the reply was, I cannot tell; but it was evident it was nothing favourable. We live in such strange times; in a town held by our enemies—in hourly expectation of the arrival of a vanquished army, which may probably be allowed to wreak its vengeance on our town, if they have time—& without any protection of any kind, & still not afraid. In God is my trust.

Saturday night [May 24]—No lack of excitement to-day; when shall we ever lie down in peace, & rise in security. I was awake nearly all

night; the constant passing on the street, of men in a high state of excitement, firing off pistols; & to add to the alarming sounds, Willoughby Jackson had a crazy spell in the night, & I heard shrieks & screams for which I could not account till the morning; altogether it was a most uncomfortable night; before I rose this morning, Mrs. Barton [4] came over in a great state of excitement to tell us that we had had a glorious victory at Front Royal; the particulars collected during the day are, that a portion of Ewell's division made a clean sweep on the force at Front Royal & Almost annihilated them; of the 4th. Maryland regiment it is said, there are but ten left; the rest being killed, wounded or captured. A Pennsylvania Regt. the New York Cavalry & a portion of the Michigan [5] was also in the fight, & suffered terribly; we took $200,000 worth of stores; from all I can learn, it was the rear guard of [James] Shield's Division, which has gone to join [Irvin] McDowell. During the whole day, Bank's army has been coming in & he & his staff arrived this evening. They are either preparing for an immediate evacuation, or for a fight; God grant it may be the former. I have not nerve enough to go through with all the terrible scenes connected with another battle; if any, it will be here & so much more terrible, as the numbers engaged would be so much greater. Our army, between thirty & forty thousand, is near us on every side & messages here have been received from them saying, they will very soon be here. No one knows exactly where Jackson is; Col. Jackson,[6] from Kanawha, is near with a force under his command. There is a rumour afloat that Winchester is to be burnt to-night & there is considerable panic, chiefly amongst the servants. One of the Yankee stories told to the negroes to-day is, that "Mr. Jackson" is killing all the negroes, men, women & children; this is their last resort to frighten off those who have still remained at their homes. There was a report circulated this morning, that no one was to be allowed to triumph, or evince any symptoms of joy, or they would be shot down. A long train of baggage wagons was passing our door, & in full retreat, & we were at the parlour windows, looking at them, & I know I was smiling & very jubilant; one of the soldiers, a bright, pleasant looking youth, laughed, & called out to me, "I am going home;" I told him, I was very glad to hear it. I have never felt subjugated, or afraid to say or do anything I wanted, till to-day; my impulse was to hurra for Jeff Davis, to every one who passed, but I really was afraid for the consequences. My only fear has been, the retreat through this place, & of an infuriated & defeated army, & the time for it has come.

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[4] Mrs. David W. Barton, the mother of David and Marshall Barton. lived near the Lee house in Winchester. T. K. Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants. A History of Frederick County, Virginia* (Winchester, Va., 1909), p. 298.

[5] These outfits were the First Maryland Regiment Volunteers, two companies of the Fifth New York Cavalry, two companies of the Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, a section of two guns, Battery E, Pennsylvania Light Artillery, and a portion of the Pioneer Corps under a Captain Mapes. *O. R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 555-566.

[6] Colonel William L. Jackson is listed as a volunteer aide-de-camp on the staff of General Thomas J. Jackson, *ibid.*, 716.

To-morrow, Sunday, I fear the battle will be fought, unless the Yankees go to-night; they are passing by this moment in large numbers. What an inexpressible relief it would be to find them all gone in the morning. I confess that I feel a little nervous to-night; are you surprised at it, or do you think me cowardly; I should be brave, if I had to act; but sitting in my lonely little room, at this late hour, I do feel so utterly unprotected, in the midst of danger. I must look above for help & strength.

Tuesday morning [May 27]—12 o'clock—Joy, joy, dearest Jeannie;[7] the battle has been fought; the victory won; we are free; our precious soldiers are here, in Winchester, with us all the time, morning, noon & night; & the scenes of last summer are being enacted again, intensified a thousand fold by all we have undergone, in the last two months. If I were to write volumes, I could not tell you the sensations or events of the last two days. I have tried in vain to find a moment to write to you, & this is the first breathing spell I have had. Lal[8] has gone out walking with Ranny McKim,[9] the loveliest boy in the world; & Lute[10] is entertaining Capt. Murray,[11] (Ida's friend.) Wood McDonald[12] & Blackford;[13] & I have no pressing call this moment—but I must go back to Sunday morning. All Saturday night the Yankees were dashing about the streets in the wildest confusion. I was awake nearly all night, but fell asleep towards day-break; the first sound I heard, before sun-rise, was the sound of the cannon; I thought there would be fighting all day & determined to stay in bed, as long as I could, to try to shorten the time, but it was in

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[7] Mrs. Lee commenced her journal on March 11, 1862, by writing 'I know not how a letter can be sent, or to whom to address it, as our Post Office is removed to Harrisonburgh, but I feel as if it would help to pass away these dreadful hours of suspense, to tell to some sympathising friend the fluctuations of hope, fear and despair during the last twenty-four hours." Jeannie, as yet unidentified, was the 'sympathizing friend."

[8] Laura Lee Burwell (1840-1887) daughter of Philip Lewis Burwell of Carter's Grove.

[9] Randolph Harrison McKim (1842-1920) of "Belvidere," Baltimore, at this time Color-Sergeant of Company H, First Maryland Infantry, C. S. A. For a most interesting account of his experiences during the war, see *A Soldier's Recollections: Leaves From The Diary of A Young Confederate* (New York, 1911).

[10] Louisa Carter Burwell (1838-1883), Lal Burwell's sister, who later married Dr. Benjamin Mellichamp Cromwell, a Confederate Army surgeon.

[11] William H. Murray, commanding Company H, First Maryland Infantry, C. S. A., afterwards killed at Gettysburg leading Company A in a charge on Culp's Hill. W. W. Goldsborough, *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army 1861-1865* (Baltimore, 1900), pp. 15, 110.

[12] Craig Woodrow McDonald, son of Colonel Angus W. McDonald and Leacy Ann Naylor of Winchester, Va., was killed at the battle of the Chicahominy, June 25, 1862. Hunter McDonald, *A Diary with Reminiscences of the War and Refugee Life in the Shenandoah Valley 1860-1865* (Nashville, 1934), pp. xi, 82.

[13] Private Launcelot M. Blackford, who joined the Rockbridge Artillery September 2, 1861, was one of five brothers serving in the Confederate Army, whose letters have been the source of two volumes, *War Years With J. E. B. Stuart* (New York, 1945) and *Letters From Lee's Army* (New York, 1947). For a history of the Rockbridge Artillery see *Southern Historical Society Papers* (38 vol.; Richmond, Va., 1876-1910) XXIII, 98-158, hereafter cited *S. H. S. P.*

vain; I got up & hurried on my clothes, & the first sight I saw, on going on the porch, was a litter passing with a horribly mutilated object on it. That was but the beginning; numbers were constantly brought by, & carried to the Union Hospital. The firing got nearer & nearer, but we still continued on the porch; suddenly there was a cry of fire, & we saw the flames bursting out of the roof of Goontz's Commissary building, & every one thought it the beginning of the execution of the threat, the Yankees had made, to burn the town before they left. Fortunately, it was very still, & the flames did not come towards us, but I did not think of any danger to us, till some Yankees passed by & told the servants, on the pavement, that the magazine, which was full of powder & shells, would soon catch & they had better go out of town. I felt inclined to doubt it, as their own sick & wounded were at the Union immediately opposite, & I did not think they were fiendish enought to blow up their own men, but I did them injustice, in attributing to them feelings of humanity. The magazine was in Goontz's house, & their intention was to blow up the town. A Yankee officer seeing us very much excited rode up, & asked what was the matter, & we pointed to the fire & told him our danger, & he looked in earnest, & sorry for us, & rode back to make inquiries; but there was a guard placed around, to prevent any attempts to put out the fire. Nettie [14] & Lal insisted on it that we ought to pack up some clothes, so that we might not be entirely destitute if the house was burnt up; I had a trunk brought down, & put in one dress, but I could not think of anything but the battle & flew to the porch again; there, the first sight that greeted my eyes, was the Yankee artillery, in full retreat; I ran to tell the girls that all danger was over; I forgot the magazine; everything except that the Yankees were defeated & running, & our men coming. After the Artillery came Cavalry, then Infantry, double-quicking, through the middle of the streets, & on our pavement, & we standing on our steps in the midst of them; one officer called out, "ladies they were too many for us," & I said I was so glad to hear it & told him good-bye. I had expected that they would fire on us, if they were ever driven out of Winchester, but I forgot everything, but the joy of our deliverance. I know I looked delighted, but I did not utter a word of triumph, over our fallen foe. As the last regiment wheeled around Fletcher's corner, there was for about a minute perfect silence; then came the sound of firing & some one told us to run in; they were firing on the streets; I went in the front door & as I turned to shut it, I saw the leaves falling from the maple tree, immediately in front of the door, so close was the shot to where I was standing. I opened the parlour window & as I did so a Confederate soldier dashed a Yankee knapsack on the steps & asked me to take care of it; then we all rushed out & the streets resounded with our shouts & cheers as soldier after soldier, our own men, came rushing by; we shook hands with all who would stop long enough; no regiment followed on our street but officers & soldiers dashed by in hot haste after the retreating foe. I saw one ride by & in

[14] Antoinette Lee (1820-1880), unmarried sister-in-law of Mrs. Hugh H. Lee.

a few moments heard the sound of a musket, & he returned riding slowly & I saw he was wounded; I stopped him directly & persuaded him to dismount, brought him home & ran for Dr. Baldwin;[15] it proved to be Lt. Col. Dorsey[61] of the 1st. Maryland Regt. he is not dangerously wounded; the ball passed through the top of his shoulder without injuring the bone, but I do not think he will be able to move for some time—that is to say to travel; it is unfortunate as I hear he was to have been married the 1st of May. He is a very pleasant gentleman, & I am so glad to have the Marylanders here & to have the opportunity of returning in a slight degree the kindness of the Baltimoreans to our poor boys at Fort Delaware. But I must go back to Sunday morning; during the interval of time that elapsed while Col. Dorsey was being shot after having passed our house, we were at Dr. Baldwin's corner & suddenly I heard a shout of joy & looking around saw Col. Baylor[17] running at full speed & his leg covered with blood; he just stopped long enough to shake hands, begged us not to stop him, & said his horse had been shot under him, on Oliver Brown's pavement, but that he must go on after his Regt., he said the blood was from his horse. After the Yankees were fairly out of town, the next thing to be done was to have breakfast ready, for our famished men. We had not thought of it for ourselves. Our army went a short distance out of town, the Cavalry pursuing the enemy, & taking crowds of prisoners; up to the present time, there have been 2000 prisoners taken. My intense joy at seeing the Yankees running out of town, was checked by the dread of hearing of our loss; I felt some friend was lost. David Barton[18] came by & told us his brother Marshall[19] was killed; Mrs. Barton was on the pavement, with us, in joyous spirits, not knowing that the 1st. Brigade had been in the battle; she thought it was Ewell's division alone; David

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[15] Dr. Robert T. Baldwin lived in a large stone house on the corner of Cameron and Picadilly Streets, only a few doors from the home of Mrs. Lee. Cartmell, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

[16] Captain Edward R. Dorsey formed a company in Richmond at the beginning of the war which became Company C of the First Maryland Infantry, C. S. A. He was promoted to Major July 21, 1861, and to Lieutenant Colonel March 18, 1862. Following his wound at Winchester he did not return to his Maryland command. Goldsborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 72.

[17] Colonel W. S. H. Baylor of Staunton commanded the Fifth Regiment Virginia Volunteers, two companies of which were raised in Winchester and used as scouts in the pre-dawn approach on May 25. Colonel Baylor's report of the battle of Winchester is to be found in *O. R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 747.

[18] David R. Barton enlisted in the Rockbridge Artillery as a private June 27, 1861, was promoted to Lieutenant August 19, 1862, and transferred to Cutshaw's Battery which merged with Carpenter's Battery, originally known as the Allegheny Roughs. He was killed at the battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862. C. A. Fonerden, *History of Carpenter's Battery of the Stonewall Brigade, 1861-65* (New Market, Va., 1911).

[19] In his report of the battle, General Charles S. Winder, commanding the Stonewall (First) Brigade, comments on the death of Lieutenant Marshall Barton: "The gallant Cutshaw and Barton fell wounded at the same moment, the latter mortally, within sight of his home, containing all most dear to him, for which he was so manfully and courageously fighting, having won the esteem and admiration of all and met a soldier's death in this our glorious cause" (*O. R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 737).

told her Marshall was badly wounded, but when she heard of his death she bore it with the most perfect composure, & staid on the porch, giving our soldiers bread & coffee as they passed. Marshall was brought in about 10 o'clock; he was killed near Mrs. Hollingsworths; Alcinda [20] was with him when he died; he only lived half an hour; his last word was, "mother." Mrs. Barton staid down stairs all day Sunday, & has been all the time more wonderfully nerved up, than you could have imagined possible. She says she gave her sons to her country & that she must not murmur at the sacrifice. Marshal's funeral was from our church yesterday evening, it was a military funeral, Col. Baylor's band was in attendance. Cutshaw,[21] Marshal's Capt. was badly wounded; he is at Mr. Bartons. I digress so often that I fear I shall lose the thread of my narrative. By the time breakfast was ready, Sunday morning I found numbers to eat it; the names of many of my guests I do not know. There were Col. Dorsey & Ranny McKim, & Berkeley Minor [22] first. Ranny is one of the loveliest youths I ever saw; he has been staying with me till this evening, when he left most reluctantly, but he had imperative orders to return to camp. I know you will be sorry to hear of Bob McKim's [23] death; you remember the bright boy so much like our Bob; we saw him last at the Clothing room where he brought an overcoat. We heard of his death before breakfast, but Ranny did not know it; some one came in & told him, & it was touching to see his distress; a moment before he had said, how much he would enjoy a good, comfortable breakfast, but the shock made him put away his plate at once. Bob was carried to Mr. Williams, from which place he & another young man from the Battery were buried. Such is war; such is life & death, as connected with it. After this second digression,

[20] Alcinda Gibson Hollingsworth was the wife of Isaac Hollingsworth, Jr., of Willow Lawn, Winchester. Cartmell, *op. cit.*, pp. 293, 294.

[21] Wilfred E. Cutshaw, a graduate of V. M. I., was made a captain in March, 1862. He rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel and fought in many of the battles in the Valley district, receiving wounds at Spotsylvania, and Sailors Creek where he was captured. He died in 1907. *Biographic Catalogue of the Portraits in the Confederate Memorial Institute* (Richmond, Va., 1929) p. 13.

[22] Berkeley Minor was a private in the Rockbridge Artillery and was wounded at Gettysburg. W. W. Blackford, *War Years With J. E. B. Stuart*, pp. 256, 257.

[23] Robert Breckinridge McKim (1843-1862), a private in the Rockbridge Artillery, entered Confederate service April 20, 1861, and was killed May 25, 1862, at the age of eighteen. In his own memoirs, Randolph McKim speaks of the death of his cousin: "That was a joyous breakfast table that Sunday morning at Mrs. Lees's. The battle was over. We were all 'heroes' and 'deliverers' in the eyes of the charming women of the family, and all was proceeding gayly till the entrance of my friend Berkeley Minor brought me the sad news of the death of Robert Breckinridge McKim, my young cousin, who had joined the Rockbridge Artillery near this very town less than eleven months before. He fell gallantly serving his piece in the battle. It was a painful shock to me, for I was warmly attached to the noble boy. Procuring a horse, I rode out to the field and found him laid out in a barn, with a label attached, on which was his name. The minie-ball had pierced his head just above the forehead, leaving the face undisfigured. His features wore a peaceful expression, and I believe his soul was at peace with God in the better world. How joyous he used to be and how well he sang our college songs, 'Lauriger Horatius,' 'The Irishman's Shanty,' etc" (*A Soldier's Recollections*, pp. 102-103).

I will go back to that same breakfast, which you will think interminable; after our table full had finished, I went on the porch to look for more stragglers & I saw one officer riding by, munching a hard Yankee cracker. I stopped him & he very readily accepted my invitaiton; he proved to be a very pleasant gentleman, Major Snodgrass [24] on Ewell's staff, he returned in the evening to tea; as long as I had a mouthful of food, I continued to bring them in; they were entirely exhausted, from fatigue & hunger. A number of visitors came in, chiefly Marylanders; Mr. Ward, Dr. [Richard P.?] Johnson & many whose names I do not recollect; Col. Dorsey found his wound so much more serious than he thought at first, that he had to go to bed; it bled profusely, & cold water applications are still being used on it. I think the whole Maryland Regt. must have been to see him; he is the only one wounded & there were only two wounded at Front Royal. Col. Baylor got in before dinner & we were truly glad to see him. I forgot to mention Major Lyon,[25] on Genl. [Isaac R.] Trimble's staff, who staid with us two days; he is also a Baltimorean. All day Sunday we spent in the porch & in the parlour, & there were many joyous meetings. Col. Jackson, Col. Letcher [26] & Frank Clarke took tea, besides the four staying with us. When they finished some stragglers came & finished the supper. Sunday was a day to be taken out of time, as different from any other we ever spent. It was a day of intense excitement & enthusiasm. The army looked on themselves as Knights errant, coming to the rescue of *fair " ladyes "*. Even Genl. Jackson cheered on the soldiers, in person, as they entered the town. I had no idea that they entertained such exalted ideas of our heroism, in bearding the lion when we were in his den; I think they exaggerated our courage. Even the strange troops from Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi & Alabama, who had never been here before, shared in the enthusiasm. I did not know, till to-day, how much danger we had been in; some of the shells which were fired over the town fell short; one fell in Mr. Bell's yard. Genl. Jackson says, he would have annihilated the Yankees, by firing cannons through the streets, but he would not endanger the town. I would have been perfectly willing, at the time; though I am glad now the poor miserable wretches have more time for repentance. Was it not a merciful Providence that the battle was fought so near town, that our men followed in & put the fire out, before it reached the magazine; if they had been an hour later there would have been no hope for us. Monday morning the feeding process was continued, at breakfast; all went to Bob McKim's funeral, but myself. Col. Johnson (Bradley) [27] paid me a long visit; it is amusing

[24] Major Snodgrass, Quartermaster on General Ewell's Staff. *O. R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 721.

[25] Major James W. Lyon married Fannie Moncure Nelson shortly after the war and moved to Baltimore County, Md., where he died in March, 1907, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Arthur H. Hall, of Pikesville. Dielman File, Maryland Historical Society.

[26] Colonel Samuel H. Letcher commanded the Fifty-eighth Virginia. *O. R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 817.

[27] Colonel Bradley T. Johnson commanded the First Maryland Infantry throughout this campaign. His report of the battle of Winchester is to be found in *ibid.*, 817-818.

to see with what interest our soldiers listen to our accounts of the Yankees. Col. Johnson was full of enthusiasm; the Marylanders look on this as the onward move, across the Potomac, & I have no doubt it will be, as soon as [Joseph E.] Johns[t]on whips [George B.] McClellan; we hear that battle is going on to-day, God grant it may be as total a rout as that here. Col. Johnson left me a large sum of money to buy a souvenir with for Mrs. Johnson, who is in N. Carolina. He was to have dined with us if he had not received marching orders. I went to Marshal's funeral in the afternoon, it is strange how little I knew him; in reality, we were entire strangers & the sympathy I feel for his parents is checked by their wonderful composure; they have the martyr spirit & rejoice in the manner of his death. Our Court House yard presented a singular appearance; it was filled, literally filled, with Yankee prisoners, & strange to say they were brighter & more cheerful than I have seen them, since they have been here. They were laughing & jesting with the guard, & citizens around, & they cheered [Arnold] Elzey's Brigade, which was passing by at the time. You can imagine we enjoy seeing the captivity of those who have held us in bondage; but we are too generous to let them see it. Last night several gentlemen came in; by accident our *little friend* Col. Neff [28] & his staff were here. John Lee was to have spent the evening with us, but he could not get off; he was here this morning & I wanted him to dine, but he could not come. I have not attempted to give you a full account of the battle, because I have not the statistics correctly yet; I will get them all for you. Robert & Nepe Baldwin were here last night.

Tuesday night—I must try to write up my journal, so as to have it ready to send by the first opportunity; it is a glad thought that such an occasion may present itself very shortly. Col. Skinner [29] dined with us to-day, & our sweet young friend, Randy McKim returned to camp most reluctantly. Frank Clark, Willie Randolph,[30] (now Capt.), Sandy Pendleton [31] & Dick Meade [32] came in to-night. The 1st. Brigade went to Charlestown this evening, to seize the stores there; they are very valuable. When the Yankees got to Martinsburgh, on Sunday, they were dropping down on the street, from sheer fatigue, they were in such a panic that the infantry outran the cavalry. They have all crossed the Potomac, & the Valley of Virginia is free; Jackson has done, what no other General has done yet. He has been the first to drive the Yankees entirely out of a region of country they had occupied. Numbers of the servants have been

[28] Colonel John F. Neff, commanding the Thirty-third Regiment Virginia Volunteers. His report can be found in *ibid.*, 753.

[29] Lieutenant Colonel Skinner commanded the Fifty-second Regiment Virginia Volunteers: *ibid.*, 788, 790.

[30] Captain Randolph commanded Company D, Fifth Virginia Regiment: *ibid.*, 748.

[31] First Lieutenant Alexander S. Pendleton, son of General William N. Pendleton, served on Stonewall Jackson's staff and was frequently cited for outstanding acts. See *S. H. S. P.*, XXIII, 131.

[32] Second Lieutenant R. K. Meade, acting chief of ordnance, Stonewall Jackson's staff, was cited for his services duirng the battle of Winchester in his famous commander's report. *O. R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 709.

recaptured. I am so glad Major Whittlesey [33] is taken prisoner, my little friend Major Lyon captured him; he is sick & allowed to remain at Col. Fauntleroy's [34] on parole. Willie Randolph was officer of the day to-day, & he was very funny about the prisoners; I am sorry to say, they have had but one meal to-day, but it is no more than our own men have endured for weeks past; since the 6th May they have been marching & countermarching, till Banks was perfectly bewildered. I could not find out till to-night where Johnnie was; I hear he is in N. Carolina; I wish so much we could hear of Jamie & Lewis. I hope to-morrow we may hear glad tidings from Johns[t]on; from the news of to-day, we suppose the fighting must have been going on. Turner Ashby [35] was in town to-day; it is said it was amusing to see the prisoners gazing at him; he has been a terror to them. Col. Baylor is going to Charlestown to-morrow & we shall be left without any one but Col. Dorsey, who is confined to his room. Good-night, dear Jeannie.

Wednesday night [May 28]—This has been a more quiet day than the last three; all the army have gone down towards Charlestown except the 21st. Regt: as there are nearly 3000 prisoners here, I have quite serious apprehensions that there may be some disturbance. Maj. Lyon came round this morning to breakfast but he was so early that he went away, got his breakfast & came back by the time we were down; Johnnie Lee was to have come with him, but could not get off. They are both on Trimble's staff. Col. Baylor & Nepe went down to Charlestown together in an ambulance. Turner Ashby sent me Kate's letter & Mrs. Keeling's; the first I have received from Richmond since the 12th. March; they were written in April, still it was an inexpressible comfort to hear of you all again & to know you were comfortably fixed in my dear old home. As I shall probably write before I send you this journal I will not attempt to answer letters here. I was so disappointed not to hear of Lewis; what can it mean; is there any bad news you are holding back? Dr. Capers of Georgia has regularly installed me as Col. Dorsey's nurse & I attend to dressing his wound. I was amused to see how embarrassed he was, at the first display, as he has to be considerably disrobed, but I have seen so much in the last year that in ordinary hours would be startling, that I am nerved for everything. There are many rumours this evening—some true & some false; the Yankees were in Charlestown last night, & burned the Depot; Genl. Winder [36] is there to-day. One rumour is that there are four thousand Yankees at Berryville, but one of the Genl's staff was

[33] Major Joseph H. Whittlesey, U. S. A., married the daughter of his host in Winchester, Catherine Knox Fauntleroy. Cartmell, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

[34] Colonel Charles M. Fauntleroy, son of Brigadier General Thomas T. Fauntleroy of Winchester, *ibid.*, p. 451.

[35] General Turner Ashby, cavalry leader and scourge of the Federal Army, was killed at Harrisonburg, Va., on the 6th of June 1862. *O. R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 782.

[36] Brigadier General Charles S. Winder of Talbot County, Maryland, was mortally wounded while leading the Stonewall Brigade at the battle of Cedar Mountain on August 9, 1862. *O. R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 2, 178.

here to-night & said he had heard nothing of it. It is delightful to hear the different accounts of our soldiers, officers & men, about their feelings in fighting for & entering Winchester. There has been more chivalry & sentiment about it than I have heard of during the war. Genl. Elzey says the tears were brought to his eyes at hearing an old woman exclaim, as he entered Winchester, "God bless Genl. Jackson & the Southern army." We hear the General compliments the women of Winchester & Turner Ashby says, the Genl. says, we are the backbone of the Southern Confederacy. No reliable news from Richmond yet—though there are rumours that McClellan is wounded & his army driven back.

Friday night [May 30]—I was so tired last night I could not write. I had taken advantage of the army being away to have the parlour carpet taken up & the rooms put in summer array. There was nothing very exciting & no visitors, except acquaintances stopping to pay visits on the porch; the 21st Va. was the only Regt. here, & we have no acquaintances in it. There were various rumours about fighting at Harper's Ferry, the 1st. Maryland having crossed the Potomac &c. &c., but we are so accustomed to sensation reports that they never alarm us. However, there has been skirmishing at Harper's Ferry & Charlestown. To-day I went to the stores to try to finish Mrs. Johnson's shopping; the merchants keep their doors closed as there is such a rush for goods it is impossible to attend to all their customers; they come here from all the surrounding counties & even from Richmond to buy goods. Rumours of an alarming character are rife to-day. The Yankees have Front Royal, so large a force came that the 12th Georgia left on guard had to withdraw after having burned all the stores they could not remove. Another rumour of a large force at Millwood & Moorefield & even at Strasburgh then again it is said Gustavus Smith, [L. O'Brien] Branch, [Harry T.] Hayes & some other Genl. are coming with re-enforcements. I do not pretend to know what is true except that I believe Jackson will do what is right; he & his staff arrived to-night; one brigade has come & it is thought the whole army will be here to-night or to-morrow, & then I fear Sunday will bring another battle. Col. Dorsey spent this evening with us in the parlours; he is doing well, though a minnie ball going through the shoulder is no slight injury. I received a letter from dear Kate yesterday written in March; also one from Lewis of that date. Good-night, dearest Jeannie; I have heard to-day you are at Greenville, N. C. Can it be true; why did you run. It is so much better to be at home.

Saturday night [May 31]—Oh! Jeannie, such another day as we have had; it has appeared like a thousand years; we heard, first thing this morning, that Jackson's army was at Stephenson's Depot, & it proved to be partly true; all but Winder's Brigade & the Maryland Regiment, were there. We knew, of course, there would be another stirring day, & hurried through with the housekeeping, & made arrangements for feeding all who might come. About 8 o'clock the army commenced passing through; [William B.] Taliaferro's brigade passed our door; Genl.

[Richard] Taylor's (4 Louisiana Regt. & [Roberdeau] Wheat's Battalion) came up, Picadilly, they halted for some time & we went in Dr. Baldwin's yard to see them; several came up to talk to us. Amongst them was one who was particularly pleasant; Col. de Choiseul;[37] he gave me a Richmond paper & wrote his name on it. I told him I certainly expected them back on Monday, & invited him to spend the evening with us. I could not take in the idea that our soldiers were again leaving us to the Yankees, but they evidently think so, & are so grave about it; this proclamation of [Benjamin F. ("Beast")] Butler's at New Orleans has shocked them, & they leave us with a fear they had not felt before. The reason of this move is, that Shields is at Front Royal, with 7000 men, & [John C.] Fremont & [Dixon S.] Miles are near enough to unite with them, & Jackson has gone back to drive them off; he takes his whole army, & consequently our border is left unprotected. The Yankees are at Harper's Ferry & Martinsburgh, some say with five, some with eighteen thousand men, & there will be nothing between them & us but their own fear, which will, I believe, keep them away till Jackson returns. But [it] is a sad sight, to witness these evacuations of Winchester—as we have done. I must go back to the morning; while the brigades were passing through, we were getting up lunches for the men to take with them. I was on the pavement with our flag in my hand, & I saw, as I thought, another regiment coming, from the depot; I walked down towards them, nearing it, I joined Nettie & Burr Noland who were below our porch; just then some one said, it was the prisoners, & I did not choose to lower my flag, or let them think I was afraid of their seeing it. I heard them commenting on it; saying they would like to burn it, it was a dish-rag &c. &c. They were very much excited. It was a grand sight to see them; there were 1160 in that gang & there were between 8 & 900 at the Court House. I was standing by Col. Dorsey when the 1st. (Yankee) Maryland passed by & it was a strange sight. After they left Major Snodgrass & Sandy Pendleton took lunch. Then we packed Mrs. Bradley Johnson's box & arranged for Col. Dorsey's departure, as it was not thought safe for him to remain; most of our sick have been removed. I dressed his arm for the last time, gave him his dinner, & saw him off; he went in an ambulance with Col. Kirkland of the 21st. N. Carolina, who is wounded. Then we put the rooms to rights & got things somewhat in order, after a morning of confusion; all the afternoon soldiers were passing, all giving different accounts; one was, that Jackson & Shields were fighting at Middletown; that was false. Towards dark we heard the 1st. Brigade & the Marylanders were near town, & I knew some would slip off to get their supper. Jim Garnett had told us he would bring Genl. Winder, but I did not think he could get off, as I knew they were pressing on in a hurry. The first guest who came was Dr. Johnson, then Mr. Ward of Maryland; Col. Baylor sent for his supper, he could not get off. Then came two of his Regiment & while they were at the table Garnett came to say, Genl.

[37] Lieutenant Colonel C. DeChoiseul of the Seventh Louisiana Regiment died of wounds following the battle of Port Republic, June 9, 1862. *O. R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 787.

Winder & some of his staff were coming to tea, so we hurried to get the table re-set. Genl. W. had Capt. O'Brien (his Adjutant) & Mr. Howard [38] with him; our pet, Ranny McKim came also; after tea they staid some time to hear the girls sing; Major Mercer came in & when he was going he advised us to treat the Yankees with courtesy; some of the neighborhood boys came to say good-bye- & so ends our week of triumph & security. What to-morrow may bring, we cannot tell & I will try not to think of it. I sent a note to you enclosed to Mr. Keeling & a letter to the Enquirer, & a dispatch from Col. Johnson to the Richmond Dispatch, by Frank Clarke this morning. I hope they will go safely. If the Yankees should come here, we will have a far worse time than before.

[38] Lieutenant James M. Garnett was an aide-de-camp on General Winder's staff. Other members of Winder's staff who came to tea were Captain John F. O'Brien, assistant adjutant-general, and Lieutenant McHenry Howard of Baltimore: *ibid.*, 737. For Garnett's account of the Battle of Winchester fought on Monday, September 19, 1864, see *S. H. S. P.*, Volume XXXI, 61-68.

SIDELIGHTS

ORIGINAL LAND GRANTS OF THE SOUTH SIDE OF SEVERN RIVER

An introduction to a map recently compiled to show these land locations.

By Caleb Dorsey

The area on the south side of Severn River is of considerable interest to historians and genealogists because it was to this region that an important mass migration of new settlers took place in the fall and winter of 1649-50.

They came largely from what was then Lower Norfolk County, Virginia and apparently many were Puritans and other non-conformists. Governor William Berkeley of Virginia had recently legislated against these colonists for refusing to attend the established Church of England, even threatening them with legal action and confiscation of their property.

At this time Cecil, Lord Baltimore, being especially desirous of colonizing this unsettled section of Maryland, authorized his Governor, William Stone, to confer with this dissatisfied group in an effort to induce immigration.

They were especially invited to settle in this area and take up tracts of land under the modified Oath of Fidelity to the Lord Baltimore as expressed in the new "Condition of Plantation" of 1648. This assured them privileges not heretofore enjoyed and complete liberty in their religious convictions, both of which were most certainly advantageous.

Even in those days, the trip from the Norfolk area up the Chesapeake Bay to the Annapolis peninsula, a distance of about one hundred and forty miles, was not too difficult. During the fall and winter of 1649-50, a sizable group of these non-conformists and others landed in this location and began to take up grants. Among them we find many families who first established themselves here and later sent their descendants into an ever widening territory, for example: Todd, Norwood, Wyatt, Howard, Dorsey, Hall, Marsh, Gaither, Browne, Lloyd, Rockhould, Warner, Selby, Beard and others.

Their first surveys were apparently made shortly after the original settlement but were evidently not legally patented as required by current regulations and cannot be accurately located. However, a few years later, surveys were properly made, certificates officially passed upon and patents issued, records of which still exist in the Land Office at Annapolis.

ORIGINAL LAND GRANTS OF THE SOUTH SIDE OF SEVERN RIVER MARYLAND

CALEB DORSEY
1958
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A difficulty now frequently encountered by the historian and genealogist is in locating these old family tracts which are so often mentioned in the wills and records of that period. The need for a map showing these locations in their proper relationship to a current map has often occurred to the author and he has endeavored to accomplish this need.

A portion of a regular county topographic map enlarged to the scale of two inches per mile was used and a black line tracing upon clear film was prepared to be used over it. This was designed to show and identify these grants with their metes and bounds along with the shore line and water courses of the territory, which so often served as boundaries. A list giving the names of these patents with the dates, names of patentees and references in the patent books, has been prepared to be used in conjunction with the above.

The names and surveyors' descriptions of these tracts could be easily found in the patent books at the Land Office and it was routine procedure to draw them up individually. The matter of placing them was more involved as the locations officially given were rather indefinite, such as, " on the south side of Ann Arundell River, in the woods," or bounding on a certain creek, the identity of which, today, is usually unknown. These problems were finally clarified by referring to later resurveys of larger tracts which included several or more of the original grants.

Some of these later patents contain the original plats which were photostatted for reference, but some had to be drawn from the surveyor's description. As would be expected, certain mistakes and inaccuracies have been noted, but considering the crude instruments of that time and the rough terrain encountered, the original tracts were found to fit together surprisingly well.

The area selected for this research is triangular in shape, beginning at the Annapolis peninsula and extending due west for about eight miles slightly beyond the head of South River. From this point it runs north to the head of Severn River, about seven miles, and thence down the river side nearly ten miles to the present site of Annapolis. It takes in approximately twenty-five thousand acres and concerns eighty early settlers. One hundred and thirty-one original grants are outlined, the largest of which, " White's Hall " is eighteen hundred acres and the smallest, " Gearey's Expense," but thirteen acres. All of these but three are patented and the earliest patent, dated 1658, was taken up by Richard Acton. The numerous creeks of this region are identified by their original names, which are invariably different from those of the present time.

It is not surprising to learn from a study of these lands that even in those days, some of the local inhabitants were more acquisitive than others regarding real estate and amassed large holdings. The earliest example of this tendency to be exhibited by the Land Office is the case of Amos Garrett, (1671-1727), a successful merchant of Annapolis and its first Mayor.

He succeeded in accumulating a chain of thirty-nine original patents of land by purchase or foreclosure, extending from the head of the Severn down to within several miles of Annapolis. This he resurveyed, taking in

the contiguous vacancies and patented the whole under the name of "Providence," six thousand acres, on September 10, 1725.[1] He did not live long to enjoy these holdings, dying in 1727, and his administrators in 1736-7 subdivided this estate and sold it off in blocks of five or six tracts each. The deeds to these properties aid greatly in locating the original land grants contained therein.

Other notable examples of similar patented land groupings which have proven helpful in locating the original grants are:

"Norwood's Beale," containing five tracts patented by John Beale, May 2, 1719.[2]

"Sand Gate," three tracts, patented by Thomas Bordley, June 17, 1718.[3]

"Gaither's Collection," five tracts, patented by Edward Gaither, June 10, 1734.[4]

"Resurvey of Tracts," three tracts, patented by Thomas Worthington, October 20, 1735.[5]

"Sherwood Forest," five tracts, patented by Thomas Hyde, January 22, 1795,[6] (a part of the estate of Caleb Dorsey of Thomas).

"Gambrill's Purchase," three tracts, patented by Augustine Gambrill, March 3, 1814,[7] (the remainder of the estate of the above Caleb Dorsey).

"Hammand's Plains," patented by Col. Rezin Hammond, August 4, 1797,[8] shows the location of eleven properties.

"Hammond's Purchase Enlarged," resurveyed for Maj. Philip Hammond, February 3, 1803,[9] contains five original patents.

"Hockley-in-the-Hole Enlarged," Richard Dorsey's resurvey and patent of November 3, 1797,[10] included four such patents.

"Worthington's Resurvey," one of the later resurveys of large size, was patented by Brice John Worthington, April 15, 1828.[11] It extended from Round Bay on the Severn down to the head of South River and contained twenty-one hundred and ninety acres. It was upon one of the component parts of this tract, "Bear Ridge," that John Ross, the great-grandfather of Francis Scott Key, built his famous homestead "Belvoir," when he was Register of the Land Office. This striking example of colonial architecture is still standing today.

It is difficult for use of the present day to visualize what this region must have been like in the latter part of the sixteen hundreds. Sparsely settled as it was, the plantations were necessarily remote, particularly those distant from the water where the few roads were often impassable. Upon reading Henry Sewell's patent of "Hope," August 8, 1664,[12] where one

[1] P. L. No. 5, f. 839, Patent Liber, Annapolis.
[2] P. L. No. 4, f. 8, *ibid.*
[3] R. Y. No. 1, f. 526, *ibid.*
[4] E. I. No. 1, f. 518, *ibid.*
[5] E. I. No. 2, f. 242, *bid.*
[6] I. C. No. H, f. 618, *ibid.*
[7] I. B. No. C, f. 15, *ibid.*
[8] I. C. No. M, f. 267, *ibid.*
[9] Unpat. Cert. (A. A. Co.) No. 222, *ibid.*
[10] I. C. No. N, f. 110, *ibid.*
[11] G. G. B. No. 1, f. 7, *ibid.*
[12] 7, f. 343, *ibid.*

of the bounders is given as " a marked oak by an Indian path," and realizing that this is now Route No. 178 (General's Highway) we are impressed by the sweeping changes that have taken place. The two most important factors that have recently changed this area more than anything have been the extending mileage of better roads and the increasing popularity of water front property.

Before 1700 many of the original settlers or their descendants began to migrate north and north westerly to the more fertile lands of the Piedmont plateau, which was then the new frontier where opportunities awaited them, to take up larger estates. The old grants and resurveys of the south Severn area then began to experience a series of subdivisions and changes of ownership, which seem to have just reached their peak.

The whole peninsula or " neck " now occupied by Annapolis and the Naval Academy was originally " Todd," " Todd's Harbor " and " Todd's Pasture." Similarly but much more recently, other " necks " of land have been converted into water front settlements, some for summer occupancy and others for full time abode. " Wyatt's Harbor " is now Sherwood Forest, " Howard's Hill " has developed into Epping Forest, while many more dot the Severn shore from Indian Landing down to Annapolis, namely Whitney's Landing, Round Bay, Herald Harbor, Dream's Landing and various others.

Many of the above changes are definite improvements and have resulted in an enormous elevation of land values.

With such extensive development and constantly increasing popularity of this area and with such an ancient historical background involving so many Maryland antecedents, a map of the above seems appropriate. It is quite fascinating to be able to ascertain who was the first patentee of a certain area and to be able to trace down, through the numerous owners, to the present time.

ORIGINAL LAND GRANTS OF THE SOUTH SIDE OF SEVERN RIVER *

" Abington " 875 a. pat. John Gaither and Robert Proctor August 25, 1664, L.–7, f. 387.
Land of Richard Acton (unnamed) 100 a. pat. Richard Acton August 11, 1658, L.–Q, f. 117.
" The Addition " 50 a. pat. William Jones October 10, 1704, L.–D. S. No. F, f. 517.
" The Advance " 42 a. pat. Daniel Edge May 10, 1676, L.–19, f. 345.
" The Adventure " 50 a. pat. William Frizzell September 22, 1663, L.–5, f. 574.
" Anything " 23 a. pat. Francis Pierpoint August 6, 1719, L.–P. L. No. f. 390.
" Baldwin's Addicon " 120 a. pat. John Baldwin August 11, 1664, L.–7, f. 356.
" Baldwin's Chance " 415 a. pat. John Baldwin November 10, 1695, L.–B, No. 23, f. 337.
" Beare Ridge " 175 a. pat. Nicholas Wyatt August 11, 1664, L.–7, f. 355.
" Boyd's Chance " 60 a. pat. John Boyd May 10, 1685, L.–N. S. No. 2, f. 108.
" Brampton " 100 a. pat. Richard Beard February 15, 1659, L.–4, f. 442.
" Brandy " 300 a. pat. Richard Warfield August 10, 1683 L.–C. B. No. 3, f. 496.
" Brookesby's Point " 350 a. pat. John Brookesby July 11, 1681, L.–C. B. No. 2, f. 257.
" Broome " 220 a. pat. Richard Beard February 15, 1659, L.–4, f. 441.

* a. — acres pat. — patented by L. — Patent Liber f. — folio

" Brownley " 150 a. pat. Thomas Brown February 15, 1659, L.–4, f. 452.
" Brown's Encrease " 250 a. pat. William Hopkins August 8, 1670, L.–13, f. 31.
" Brown's Folly " 270 a. pat. Thomas Brown July 1, 1680, L.–C. B. No. 2, f. 13.
" Brown's Peace " 52 a. pat. Thomas Brown February 27, 1677, L.–20, f. 75.
" Brushy Neck " 150 a. pat. John Baldwin August 24, 1665, L.–8, F. 148.
" Bruton's Hope " 40 a. pat. John Bruton April 10, 1671, L.–14, f. 207.
" Burntwood " 100 a. pat. Robert Gudgeon May 1, 1676, L.–19, f. 350.
" Burntwood Common " 50 a. pat. Robert and Lawrence Guggeon June 1, 1685, L.–I. B. & I. L. No. C, f. 224.
" The Chance " 200 a. pat. Cornelius Howard August 25, 1664, L.–7, f. 380.
" Charles' Hills " 271 a. pat. Charles Stevens July 28, 1679, L.–20, f. 255.
" Chilton " 40 a. pat. Abraham Child September 10, 1683, L.–S. D. No. A, f. 94.
" Clarke's Enlargement " 265 a. pat. Neale Clarke September 1, 1687, L.–N. S. No. 2 f. 438.
" Clarke's Luck " 60 a. pat. Neale Clarke June 1, 1685, L.–N. S. No. B, f. 415.
" Clinke " 100 a. pat. William Galloway January 18, 1659, L.–4, f. 430.
" Crouchfield " 150 a. pat. William Crouch September 7, 1659, L.–4, f. 87.
" Dorsey " 60 a pat. Edward Dorsey Septmber 9, 1668, L.–12, f. 136.
" Dorsey's Addition " 50 a. pat. Joshua Dorsey May 10, 1680, L.–N. S. No. B, f. 433.
" Edge's Addition " 50 a. pat. Daniel Edge September 10, 1684, L.–S. D. No. A, f. 455.
" The Encrease " 100 a. pat. Cornelius Howard August 8, 1670, L.–14, f. 46.
" The Encrease " 50 a. pat. John Minter May 15, 1668, L.–11, f. 407.
" Freeborne's Enlargement " 80 a. pat. Thomas Freeborne November 10, 1695, L.–B. No. 23, f. 329.
" Free Manston " 150 a. pat. John Freeman February 15, 1659, L.–4, f. 428.
" Freeman's Fancy " 300 a. pat. John Freeman May 27, 1663, L.–5, f. 288.
" Friend's Choice " 100 a. pat. William Grimes and Nicholas Sheppard September 10, 1672, L.–17, f. 298.
" Gardner's Warfield " 60 a. surveyed August 10, 1669 for Edward Gardner and Richard Warfield (not patented) L.–12, f. 328.
" Gatenby " 100 a. pat. Thomas Gates February 7, 1658, L.–Q, f. 392.
" Gater's Range " 200 a. pat. John Gater Septmber 10, 1672, L.–17, f. 293.
" Gearey's Expense " 13 a. pat. Lawrence Gearey June 10, 1734, L.–E. I. No. 4, f. 230.
" The Good Mother's Endeavor " 285 a. pat. Eleanor Howard, (widow of John) June 1, 1698, a resurvey of " Howard's Thickett," a part of " The Woodyard " and adjoining vacant land, L.–B. B. No. 3, f. 539.
" Greenspring " 200 a. pat. Robert Proctor February 20, 1673, L.–B. No. 15, f. 147.
" Grimes' Addition " 100 a. pat. William Grimes September 10, 1672, L.–17, f. 291.
" Grimes' Enlargement " 187 a. pat. William Grimes November 10, 1695, L.–C. No. 3, f. 265.
" Grimeston " 100 a. pat. William Grimes August 25, 1665, L.–8, f. 153.
" Guy's Rest " 100 a. pat. Guy Meeke August 8, 1670, L.–13, f. 32.
" Guy's Will " 100 a. pat. Guy Meeke May 1, 1672, L.–14, f. 464.
Thomas Hall's land 20 a., not patented but referred to in patent of " Todd's Harbor," L.–14, f. 191.
" Hamilton " 350 a. pat. Edward Skidmore August 4, 1664, L.–7, f. 238.
" Hammond's Hills " 88 a. pat. Thomas Hammond September 10, 1716, L.–F. F. No. 7, f. 46.
" Harehill " 100 a. pat. Peter Porter July 16, 1674, L.–18, f. 254.
" Henry's Increase " 43 a. pat. Henry Sewell July 1, 1680, L.–C. B. No. 2, f. 41.
" Hereford " 260 a. pat. Robert Wilson May 1, 1672, L.–16, f. 579.
" Hickory Hills " 45 a. pat. Philip Hammond October 18, 1735, L.–E. I. No. 4, f. 360.
" Hockley-in-the-Hole " 400 a. pat. Edward, Joshua and John Dorsey August 25, 1664, L.–7, f. 378.

" Hogg Neck " 250 a. pat. Edward Hope June 24, 1663, originally surveyed for Tobias Butler under the name of " The Combe," L.–5, f. 353.
" Hope " 100 a. pat. Henry Sewell August 8, 1664, L.–7, f. 343.
" Howard's Addition " 70 a. pat. Philip Howard June 1, 1685, L.–N. S. No. 2, f. 113.
" Howard's and Porter's Fancy " 333 a. pat. Cornelius Howard June 20, 1668, L.–12, f. 30.
" Howard's and Porter's Range " 500 a. pat. Cornelius Howard and Peter Porter October 2, 1666, L.–10, f. 184.
" Howard's Discovery " 50 a. pat. John Howard May 1, 1697, L.–C. D. f. 18.
" Howard's First Choice " 160 a. pat. Matthew Howard May 17, 1668, L.–11, f. 409.
" Howard's Heirship " 420 a. pat. Cornelius Howard August 4, 1664, L.–7, f. 249.
" Howard's Hill " 200 a. pat. Cornelius Howard September 10, 1672, L.–17, f. 297.
" Howard's Hills " 150 a. pat. Philip Howard December 10, 1679, L.–21, f. 71.
" Howard's Hope " 100 a. pat. Samuel Howard August 4, 1664, L.–7, f. 251.
" Howard's Interest " 150 a. pat. John Howard August 4, 1664, L.–7, f. 252.
" Howard's Mount " 80 a. pat. John Howard April 12, 1678, L.–20, f. 69.
" Howard's Seach " 121 a. pat. John Howard December 10, 1696, L.–C. C., No. 4, f. 13.
" Howard's Thickett " 50 a. pat. John Howard October 2, 1666, L.–10, f. 186.
" Innishkeene " 132 a. pat. Timothy Sulivans September 2, 1714, L.–R. Y. No. 1, f. 472.
" The Intacke " 100 a. pat. John Norwood January 18, 1659, L.–4, f. 425.
" Jane's Inheritance " 50 a. pat. Jane Sisson (due her late father John Sisson) June 20, 1668, L.–12, f. 28.
" Lancaster Plain " 180 a. pat. John Hudson May 1, 1676, L.–19, f. 357.
" The Landing " 70 a. pat. Robert Proctor September 8, 1668, L.–12, f. 135.
" The Landing Place " 50 a. pat. Neale Clarke September 25, 1663, L.–5, f. 598.
" The Last Discovery " 48 a. pat. Thomas Beale Dorsey November 29, 1769, L.–B. C. & G. S. No. 38, f. 325.
" Long Venture " 250 a. pat. John Stinson July 20, 1673, L.–17, f. 170.
" The Maiden " 40 a. pat. Mary Howard October 5, 1683, L.–S. D. No. A, f. 416.
" The March " 110 a. pat. Edward Gardner June 1, 1687, L.–N. S. No. 2, f. 280.
" Medcalf's Mount " 70 a. pat. John Medcalf May 10, 1685, L.–N. S. No. B, f. 174.
" Metcalfe's Chance " a. pat. John Metcalfe August 10, 1683, L.–S. D. No. A, f. 104.
" Mill Land " 100 a. pat. Robert Proctor May 10, 1685, L.–N. S. No. 2, f. 111.
" Mountain Neck " 190 a. pat. Thomas Hammond August 24, 1665, L.–8, f. 116.
" Narrow Neck " 41 a. pat. William Yieldhall October 5, 1683, L.–S. D. No. A, f. 420.
" Nealson " 100 a. pat. Neale Clarke February 15, 1659, L.–4, f. 433.
" Norwood " 230 a. pat. John Norwood February 8, 1658, L.–Q, f. 396.
" Norwoods Angles " 103 a. pat. Andrew Norwood August 10, 1684, L.–S. D. No. A, f. 446.
" Norwood's Fancy " 420 a. pat. John Norwood February 15, 1659, L.–4, f. 426.
" Norwood's Recovery " 104 a. pat. Andrew Norwood June 10, 1686, L.–I. B. & I. L. No. C, f. 229.
" Orphan's Addition " 85 a. pat. Robert and Lawrence Gudgeon May 10, 1685, L.–N. S. No. B, f. 150.
" Petticoat's Rest " 100 a. pat. William Petticoat September 9, 1679, L.–21, f. 99.
" Pierpoint's Lott " 150 a. pat. Henry Pierpoint September 15, 1666, L.–10, f. 106.
" Porter's Hills " 200 a. pat. Peter Porter September 19, 1659, L.–4, f. 129.
" Proctor's Chance " 30 a. pat. Robert Proctor June 28, 1680, L.–C. B. No. 2, f. 13.
" Providence " 200 a. pat. Amos Garrett August 20, 1710, L.–D. D. No. 5, f. 633. Lies within the bounds of " Charles' Hills." Formerly surveyed for Elizabeth Sisson under the name of " The Orphan's Inheritance," but not patented.
" Richardson Joy " 200 a. pat. Lawrence Richardson June 23, 1663, L.–5, f. 344.
" Ridgely's Beginning " 40 a. pat. William Ridgely May 18, 1679, L.–20, f. 205.
" Rosse " 136 a. pat. Guy Meeke May 18, 1679, L.–20, f. 203.
" Round About Hill " 120 a. pat. John Gaither September 1, 1687, L.–N. S. No. 2, f. 396.

" Salmon's Hills " 100 a. pat. Ralph Salmon September 22, 1665, L.–8, f. 414.
" Search Upon Search " 35 a. pat. John Barry September 10, 1723, L.–P. L. No. 5, f. 496.
" Shepheard's Range " 100 a. pat. Nicholas Shepheard October 1, 1674, L.–18, f. 260.
" Shepley's Choice " 200 a. pat. Adam Shepley January 26, 1681, L.–C. B. No. 2, f. 463.
" Stoney Hills " 36 a. pat. Richard Everatt January 10, 1695, L.–C. No. 3, f. 329.
" The Struggle " 32 a. pat. John Worthington September 21, 1768, L.–B. C. & G. S. No. 35, f. 45.
" Timber Neck " 40 a. pat. John Maccubbin September 15, 1665, L.–8, f. 294.
" Todd " 100 a. Surveyed for Thomas Todd July 8, 1651, L.–A. B. & H., f. 258, (Not patented.)
" Todd's Harbor " 120 a. pat. Thomas Todd April 10, 1671, L.–14, f. 191.
" Todd's Pasture " 29 a. pat. Thomas Tod June 29, 1675, L.–19, f. 122.
" Todd's Range " 120 a. pat. Thomas Todd May 4, 1664, L.–7, f. 244.
" Turkey Quarter " 150 a, pat. Neale Clarke September 25, 1663, L.–5, f. 598.
" Upper Toynton " (Tauton) 280 a. pat. Lawrence Richardson August 15, 1666, L.–10, f. 20.
" Vennall's Inheritance " 100 a. pat. John Vennall October 10, 1671, L.–14, f. 363.
" Walnut Neck " 122 a. pat. Thomas Reynolds December 10, 1714, L.–R. Y. No. 1, f. 232.
" Wardridge " 600 a. pat. James Wardner and Henry Ridgely June 26, 1663, L.–5, f. 355.
" Wardrop " 200 a. pat. James Wardner June 26, 1663, L.–5, f. 354.
" Warfield's Addition " 188 a. pat. Richard Warfield July 20, 1729, L.–P. L. No. 7, f. 236. Consisting of " The Encrease," " Gardner's Warfield " and adjoining vacant land.
" Warfield's Plains " 300 a. pat. Richard Warfield January 26, 1681, L.–C. B. No. 2, f. 412.
" Warfield's Right " 50 a. pat. Richard Warfield July 1, 1675, L.–19, f. 45.
" Warner's Neck " 320 a. pat. James Warner January 5, 1658, L.–Q, f. 237.
" Wayfield " 100 a. pat. Nicholas Wyatt August 11, 1664, L.–7, f. 353.
" Weston " 130 a. pat. Guy Meeke August 10, 1683, L.–S. D. No. A, f. 101.
" White's Hall " 1800 a. pat. Jerome White May 29, 1665, L.–7, f. 587.
" The Woodyard " 150 a. pat. John Hayward (Howard) June 10, 1674, L.–14, f. 241.
" Wyatt's Harbor " 100 a. pat. Nicholas Wyatt May 2, 1668, L.–11, f. 361.
" Wyatt's Hills " 60 a. pat. Nicholas Wyatt August 8, 1664, L.–7, f. 345.
" Wyatt's Ridge " 450 a. pat. Nicholas Wyatt August 4, 1664, L.–7, f. 237.
" Young's Chance " 30 a. pat. Samuel Young July 21, 1720, L.–P. L. No. 4, f. 401.

ORIGIN AND FIRST USE OF THE PRESENT MARYLAND FLAG

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

In *The Maryland State Flag* [1] the late Francis B. Culver presented substantial evidence to support a belief that the present design of the official state flag was of relatively recent origin. He cited the *Maryland Archives* and other sources [2] to show that the colonial emblem consisted solely of the gold and black Calvert colors. He noted that the present design appeared a few years after the late Clayton C. Hall restored the colonial arms of Maryland to the state seal in 1876. He hinted that Hall might have had some responsibility for the flag design by noting the existence in 1934 of a copy of that scholar's *The Great Seal of Maryland,*[3] inscribed "with the compliments of C. C. H." to a member of the Sisco family, proprietors of a Baltimore flagmaking company. Then he examined newspaper items, illustrations, and official programs of events of the period, and concluded that the flag in its present design was first used in the late 1880s, probably during September 1889 in a celebration commemorating the 75th anniversary of the Battle of North Point.

Recently, however, the present writer found that the flag was first flown October 25, 1888, on the Gettysburg Battlefield in ceremonies incident to the dedication of five monuments to Maryland Federal units which had participated in the battle on that site during the Civil War. In the *Report of the State of Maryland Gettysburg Monument Commission* [4] the following statement appears (p. 79): "The Maryland State Flag carried in the column, in advance of and accompanying the Governor's carriage, was presented to the State by Governor [Elihu E.] Jackson, and was used for the first time. The flag is about ten by six feet and consisting [*sic*] entirely of the State Coat-of-Arms, in orange and black. It presented a handsome appearance."

The *American* of October 26 described the event in almost identical words, and *The Sun* stated that: "Riding well to the front was Quartermaster-Sergeant [J. Summerfield] Bull holding aloft the new Maryland Flag with the colors of the Calvert family emblazoned on it." While none of the written descriptions specifically mentions the Crossland silver and red tinctures, a photograph of Governor Jackson and his staff, reproduced opposite page 38 of the commission report, clearly shows the flag in its present design.

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[1] Francis Barnum Culver, *The Maryland State Flag and Colonial County Colors* (Baltimore, 1934).

[2] *Maryland Archives,* xlii, 371; xxxi, 46; *Calvert Papers,* No. 1, 185; *Md. Hist. Mag.,* iv, 148; ix, 224.

[3] Clayton C. Hall, *The Great Seal of Maryland*; A Paper Read Before the Maryland Historical Society. Md. Hist. Soc. Fund Publication No. 23 (Baltimore, 1886).

[4] *Report of the State of Maryland Gettysburg Monument Commission* (Baltimore, 1891).

Further evidence has been found, also, to support Culver's surmise that Hall had a hand in designing the flag. In addition to being an eminent Maryland historian and an authority on the Great Seal of the State, Hall was a major in the Maryland National Guard and quartermaster on the staff of General Stewart Brown, Commander, First Brigade. In describing an annual inspection of the Fifth Maryland Regiment, the *American* of February 6, 1889, said that "an orderly carried the beautiful pennant which was presented to General Brown on Saturday night. The flag was made by Sisco after a design by Major Hall and contains the arms of Lord Baltimore." Since *The Sun* of the same date also confused the words "pennant" and "flag," probably the type of emblem on display that night will remain unknown. Nevertheless, the fact that Hall was utilizing the Calvert arms in designing some sort emblem carried at the time by a state military unit is significant. The probability grows that he was instrumental in designing the present state flag.

Following that date increasingly frequent newspaper references indicate that the new emblem won quick acceptance among Maryland National Guard units. Then, on October 18, 1889, the Veteran Corps of the Fifth Maryland Regiment presented a flag of the new design to the regiment, which accepted it as its regimental flag, 14 years before Chapter 48 Acts 1904 made it the official flag of the state.

AN EYEWITNESS TO THE BALTIMORE RIOT, 19TH APRIL, 1861.

The following letter was recently presented to the Society by Mr. A. Herman Stump, Jr., of Reisterstown, Md., a descendant of Mrs. Mary Alicia Stump, wife of John Stump, Henry Stump's brother. Henry Stump is listed in Wood's Baltimore *City Directories*, 1853-1860, as being Judge of the Baltimore Criminal Court, with offices at 57 West Fayette Street and dwelling at Barnum's Hotel. According to the Dielman file at the Maryland Historical Society, Judge Stump died October 29, 1865, at the Cecil County home of his brother. The letter is printed exactly as it was written, without alteration or corrections.

Mrs Mary A Stump
Perryville Cecil County
Maryland

Balto April 20 1861 Saturday

Mrs M A Stump

Dr Mdam

I received your acceptable letter last evening. Being uncertain whether the mail will be sent on the road to day, I have conduced to answer briefly, to assure you that I am satisfied with the management you made to send Pauline to St. Innigoes Academy, but I was disappointed & vexed at the

time. I had made up my mind to go with her for fear of accidents. I sincerely believe you would do as much for her as for one of your own children, and have often told her you cared more for her than for any of your own family.

I hope to pay you a visit next week, but I cannot remain in the Country for fear of losing my residence in the City, where I still have some prospects before me.

The whole city is in a state of disorder and excitement. I was on Pratt St yesterday when the conflict betwixt the rioters and the Northern Soldiers took place. The soldiers bore the pelting of the pitiless mob for a long time under a full trot, & more than three of them were knocked & shot down, before they returned the assaults; Then they fired about twenty five shots which killed several of their assailants and dispersed them. I saw three of the soldiers dead & dying being about half a square from the scene of uproar.

We are in an awful state now. The Governor & mayor have called nout [*sic.*] our volunteers to assist the Police in keeping order. Where this confusion will end no one can predict; But while there is life there is hope.

I must finish in time for the mail to day, I have ordered ½ doz fruit trees to be sent by the Phila R R directed to John Stump Perryville & Three of them are the bearing mulberry & 3 early apple trees. If he will not plant them get Johny to do it. Plant them about the school house & colts stable where they will not obstruct the view from the house.

In haste yours Truly

H^y^ Stump

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

William Buckland, 1734-1774, Architect of Virginia and Maryland. By Rosamond Randall Beirne and John H. Scarff. (Studies in Maryland History, No. 4), Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1958. xiii, 175 pp. $7.50.

The designers and builders of the houses erected by the prosperous planters of Virginia and Maryland in the colonial period are among the most obscure and unknown of American artists and craftsmen. That is why this volume devoted to a master builder, William Buckland, is particularly welcome, for it throws light not only upon the career of Buckland but also upon the way houses were built and decorated in his lifetime.

The term architect as applied to an eighteenth-century craftsman like Buckland is not equivalent to the term in modern usage any more than barber-surgeon is equivalent to the aristocrats of the medical profession at the present time. To call Buckland an architect is to describe a part of his activities but it is not to elevate him beyond the use of his own hands, as a workman upon the buildings in which he had a part.

Actually, Buckland, son of a yeoman from Oxfordshire, was a joiner by trade. He was apprenticed in 1748 to that craft at Oxford. In the year that his seven years' apprenticeship expired, a younger brother of George Mason of Virginia, Thomson Mason, then studying law at the Middle Temple in London, received instructions from home to find a good workman who would come to Virginia and complete the interior of George's house at Gunston Hall. In some fashion, Thomson discovered young William Buckland and induced him to sign an indenture to serve the Masons " in the Plantations of Virginia, Beyond the seas for the space of four years as a Carpenter and Joiner." This was in return for the ocean passage. On the part of the Masons, Thomson signed an agreement to " provide for and allow the said William Buckland all necessary meat, drink, washing, lodging fit and convenient for him as covenant Servants in such cases . . . and pay . . . the said William Buckland wages or salary at the rate of twenty pounds sterling per annum, payable quarterly." By mid-eighteenth-century standards, this was a generous arrangement and relatively high pay. Skilled craftsmen were scarce, the demand was great, and an honest and reliable man could expect to do well in the new country.

When Buckland arrived, Gunston Hall was well along in its contruction. The walls were up and the roof was on, and Buckland was put to work on the interior, where his skill as a joiner and carver could be applied. Indeed, Buckland's forte was not so much in the overall design of a building but in planning and executing the details of the interiors.

Master builders in colonial America generally depended upon con-

venient manuals of design and construction written by English architects for the use of carpenters. Nearly every colonial library of any consequence possessed one or more of these manuals. One of the most widely used was Batty Langley's *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs* (London, 1756), and it is interesting to note that in an inventory of Buckland's personal estate this book, along with a half-dozen other useful works of a similar sort, is listed. With these design books, a planter could pick out the type of house that he desired, and Buckland or any other craftsman of his skill could carry the plan to execution. Buckland was a highly trained worker and the interiors that he finished, as at Gunston Hall, are evidence of both skillful craftsmanship and good taste.

The authors of this volume claim twenty-two structures in Virginia and Maryland for Buckland. Not all of them can be proved conclusively to have been built by Buckland, and in some instances, he was not responsible for the whole structure. Of the twenty-two buildings, all except five are still standing. His most important work, after Gunston Hall, was done at Annapolis. The last chapter in the volume called "Postscript" lists the surviving houses and owners.

As in the case of many other colonial figures, recorded facts about Buckland and his work are scanty, and the authors have to depend upon inference for some of their generalizations. They have been careful to distinguish between what can be documented and what is guesswork, and the reader is not left wondering about the nature of the evidence. They are at their best when they are discussing the quality and characteristics of colonial building, but they are less happy in their generalizations about social conditions in Virginia and Maryland and at times betray a lack of understanding of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century social history. The book would have been improved if editors had excised a few bald, unnecessary, and inaccurate statements, as for example, "The newspapers of the day were largely supported by the paid advertisements of owners of runaway servants (p. 45)." On the whole, however, this is a useful and conscientious account of a colonial craftsman who made an important contribution to the amenities of living in Virginia and Maryland. The volume contains a number of excellent photographs and plans.

Louis B. Wright

Folger Library

Entangling Alliance. By Alexander DeConde. Durham: Duke University Press, 1958, xiv, 536. $7.50.

This volume is a study of the diplomacy and politics of the Washington Administration with its thesis "the interaction of foreign policy and domestic politics centering on the French alliance." Since there is no single study of Franco-American relations from 1789 to 1801, the monograph fulfills a definite need for students of diplomatic history. This reviewer was disappointed that Professor DeConde limited himself to the

Washington Administration and did not include the four fateful years of John Adams, thus embracing the entire story of Franco-American relations under the diplomacy of the Federalist Party.

During the period, the guiding spirit of our diplomacy was Hamilton's, enjoying the effective political support of Washington. The author takes a penetrating look at some of the traditional cliches concerning the era and concludes that "the principle of avoidance of entangling alliances . . . was based on partisan politics." Some sharp shafts are hurled at Hamilton, though Jefferson does not escape unscathed. Indeed, the fundamentals of our diplomacy were Hamiltonian in spirit, often governed by political expediency, and altogether "was a specific response to a specific situation."

The author frankly states this will not materially add to the traditional picture scholars have of the diplomacy of the period. However, he makes a significant contribution in clearly pointing out and emphasizing party politics and the influence political considerations had upon our founding fathers who "were marked too often in their attitudes by selfish, irrational behavior; too often they placed political advantage above national welfare."

The volume is valuable not only as a diplomatic study of troublesome times, but also as presenting in sharp focus the domestic problems of the Washington Administration and their interaction upon our diplomacy. The political headaches are as deftly handled, though necessarily condensed, as are the diplomatic crises of the struggling young Republic.

Professor DeConde takes a realistic look at America's power position in the epic struggle convulsing Europe, and of the implications of the Franco-American Alliance. The author feels that in giving Hamilton a guiding voice in his Administration Washington had made the Alliance a dead letter. Furthermore, this policy planted the seeds of war with France, and in his declining years Washington is "not seen at his best." A defect of the monograph is the lack of a formal bibliography. Students will be forced to plow through the voluminous footnotes to appreciate the vast amount of research which has gone into this volume. The book is well written and will surely add to the growing stature of DeConde.

Worth pondering in the light of our diplomatic history and the American approach to foreign affairs are the words of DeConde: "For good or evil, foreign policy issues had been forced to the level of domestic politics and were debated publicly in bids for popular support. . . . At the beginning of America's national history . . . the heat of politics gave birth to a democratic approach to foreign policy."

EUGENE H. BACON

Georgetown University

Give Me Liberty, The Struggle for Self-Government in Virginia. By THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1958. 275 pp. $3.

Give Me Liberty is a lively study of colonial Virginia's struggle for self-government by an outstanding historian of the period. The narrative of political events, based on extensive research in English and American archive collections, is presented against a broad background of economic and social developments. With his usual skill, the author brings the text to life by vivid sketches of important personalities and by judicious use of contemporary quotations that catch the high spirits of the time.

Mr. Wertenbaker presents Virginia's struggle for self-government primarily in terms of the contests between successive royal governors and the colonial assembly. This viewpoint spotlights an arena where many British-American disagreements were fought out in the colonial period, but inevitably sometimes leads to oversimplification of the problems involved. Although both are suggested, for example, neither the difficulties for British colonial administration posed by governmental structure in Britain and in the colonies, nor the complexities of domestic politics caused by the conflicting interests of the small farmers of the back country and the plantation owners of the tidewater, are discussed in the detail necessary for full understanding of the imperial dilemma.

One of Mr. Wertenbaker's aims in writing this book was to show that Virginians rebelled in 1776 not to gain new rights, but to maintain the self-government they had secured bit by bit throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. The point is well taken but supporting evidence often lacks clarity. The organization of the book around the terms of various governors tends to hide significant advances of the assembly in the details of its quarrels with the governors. The frequent use of the terms "liberty," "self-government," and "democracy" without precise definition further confuses the issue. These words are not synonymous, though frequently used as if they were. Moreover, their meanings changed. The effective core of self-government, as the author clearly shows, lay in the assembly's power of taxation, but with the weakening of royal control in the 18th century, self-government in practice by 1776 involved much more than it had in 1607. Exactly what it had come to mean, however, is almost lost in the recital of events. It is admittedly very difficult to analyse the exact meaning of ideals like liberty and self-government, particularly in conjunction with a chronological narrative, yet unless this is attempted, surely the ultimate significance of political events cannot be fully appreciated.

RHODA M. DORSEY

Goucher College

Historic Houses of George-Town and Washington City. By HAROLD DONALDSON EBERLEIN and CORTLANDT VAN DYKE HUBBARD. (Preface by RICHARD HUBBARD HOWLAND.) Richmond: The Dietz Press, Inc. 1958, xvi, 480, ill. 100, $15.

The chronological and perhaps social priority of George-Town over the Federal City is indicated in this title and developed briefly in the two summaries entitled, respectively "Early Georgetown" and "The Ugly Duckling." The body of the book is divided almost equally between the thirty-two buildings chosen from the former community, and the twenty-nine in the latter, with a page allowance varying from a bare half page to the ten or fifteen pages devoted to each of about a dozen examples. The obvious exception is the White House to which sixty-eight pages are allotted. The majority of the buildings selected are houses, but a few churches and the Navy Yard are included.

Photography, which so often equals or surpasses words in current architectural publications, is limited to charming, clear, and somewhat conventional views of exteriors, a few interiors, a few old prints and paintings. The fact that the pictures are treated as illustrations and imbedded in the text adds greatly to the pleasure of reading.

These two experienced and distinguished writers in the field of historic American architecture have combined their great knowledge and their skills to create a delightfully urbane record of social history. The presentation of Tudor Place, for example, offers to a mid-twentieth century reader an extraordinarily sharp mental picture of episodes in the life of the house as Mrs. Thomas Peter (Martha Parke Custis) created it. There are very specific, but not unduly intimate details of the family life, the famous guests, the political and social feuds, and the presumption of the British in setting fire to the Capitol and the Patent Office. Subsequent generations of the Peter family have accepted and maintained the traditions set by this remarkable woman.

The unique character of these two communities, so familiar to Marylanders, deserves much more attention than it receives in the two essays. Only the map—a rather small and not very effective redrawing of the map of 1791—suggests the specific difference in community design. Marylanders will recall that Georgetown, Maryland, was in 1695 the site of the inspection of tobacco from the plantations of Frederick County.

This volume does not serve as a history of architectural style or community design. It reflects a lifetime interest in the *function* of houses and churches and is, therefore, a warmly human story of manners and men seen through their journals and their dwellings. Therefore, the authors can avoid a direct discussion of the problem which besets us today, namely, to preserve or to let go the architectural framework of our past. In this book it is clear that as long as a building with architectural distinction and socio-historical associations continues to shelter an appropriate human activity, it will continue to have architectural reality. The tragic side of preservation today lies not so much in decay, which may indeed

be romantic, but in the reduction of a living shelter to a clean and empty shell.

ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER

Goucher College

Joseph Reed: A Moderate in the American Revolution. By JOHN F. ROCHE. Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 595. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957. x, 298 pp. $5.

Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania served his country faithfully and well. In the years 1773-1775 he sought an improved understanding between Britain and her colonies, ably but thanklessly conducting a prolonged correspondence with Lord Dartmouth, the colonial secretary; he was also active in the pre-revolutionary committee system. Early in the war he proved himself invaluable to Washington, first as military secretary, then as adjutant general of the Continental Army. Retiring to civil life he became briefly a delegate to the Continental Congress, and subsequently president of Pennsylvania, 1778-1781, difficult years.

Reed made a sincere attempt to avert the break with the mother country, and for a time he continued to regard the Declaration of Independence as a stratagem; thus he is revealed to have been one of the moderates of his day, as John F. Roche, his new biographer, insists. Less clear is Reed's role as a moderate in state politics. Early in 1779 he let himself be committed to the side of the Whig extremists, the Constitutionalist party. At a period of intense party warfare, for a sensitive and unforgiving man, this commitment was definitive. Unquestionably, in the middle years of the war he gave the centrally important but feeble Pennsylvania government the energetic administration essential for success in the national struggle. Regrettably, party spirit branded him so that he became incapable of providing for the disunited commonwealth the healing moderation equally essential after Yorktown.

The new biographer's prose leaves something to be desired and there are a few minor errors of fact. The statement that Reed studied "Cicero, Virgil and Tully" (page 8) betrays limited interest and knowledge regarding the curriculum of the day. Like other historians, the author errs in identifying as Quakers Roberts and Carlisle, who were hanged for treason (page 146). He implies that a new legislature was given an opportunity to prevent the execution (pages 146-147), whereas the death warrant was carried out before the house could organize. He states that in the spring of 1776 "twelve of the thirteen new representatives from the west were warm supporters of the revolution" (page 78), but this allegation he bases on a remark of C. H. Lincoln, "So far as I have ascertained, but one of the whole number opposed the movement for a new constitution," a remark which itself was too slenderly based. Elsewhere (page 198) Mr. Roche presents a plausible account of the election strategy of the Constitutionalists in 1782, on the somewhat dubious basis of a single newspaper letter from an anonymous opponent. A confused

note (18 on page 228) identifies Maurice Morgann rather than Lord Shelburne as first Marquis of Lansdowne. Occasionally a loaded phrase suggests that the author has through long contact become infected with the bitterness so characteristic of Reed. He terms the Whig opposition, such patriots as General Cadwalader, "comrades in a program of subversion" (page 145), says that they formed the Republican Society "to continue agitation against the government" (page 164), and holds that the rival Constitutional Society was "formed to defend the government" (page 256), implying in these phrases that it is unpatriotic to seek constitutional change, though the means be orderly.

In sketching Pennsylvania's party struggles the author proves a thorough knowledge and implicit acceptance of the standard interpretations. He refutes the several plausible attacks on Reed's monumental patriotism, while unflinchingly facing the evidence of undeniable mistakes. Because it is solidly based on the unpublished Reed Papers, this factual biography constitutes a useful supplement to Brunhouse's *Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania* (1942) and may be recommended to the specialist.

HENRY J. YOUNG

Dickinson College

Economic Readjustment of an Old Cotton State. By ALFRED GLAZE SMITH, JR. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1958. viii, 239 pp. $5.

Mr. Smith's monograph is a detailed and profusely documented investigation of the ante-bellum economy of South Carolina. Taking the year 1819 and that year's break in cotton prices as a dividing line between the old and the new economic scenes in the Palmetto State, the author reviews the changes that came about in the state's economy between 1820 and 1860. These changes produced an economic readjustment, resulting in a decrease of the importance of cotton in South Carolina's economy.

That there was a basic economic readjustment in South Carolina after 1819 is questionable. There were changes that took place in the state's economy between 1820 and 1860, as the author clearly brings out in chapters on agriculture, manufacturing, internal improvements, and banking. Those developments, however, apparently failed to create any fundamental change in the economic life of South Carolinians. In the chapter on manufacturing, Mr. Smith establishes the fact that industry failed to grow in a significant manner prior to the Civil War. And in the chapter on agriculture, it is shown that cotton remained the most important crop grown in South Carolina. Thus if industry made little progress in the state and cotton continued to be the leading item in the ante-bellum agrarian economy of South Carolina, what basic readjustment occurred? Wasn't it true, as the author writes of cotton, that "the State was caught in a trap with regard to attempts to alter the structure of the economy (p. 59)."?

The research upon which this volume is based is most impressive. In particular, the author's thorough and extensive use of South Carolina public documents and newspapers is very commendable. Perhaps it would have been better, however, if the lavish use of quoted material in the book had been curtailed. In 217 pages of text there are over sixty quotations of more than four lines in length. It is regrettable, also, that a bibliography was not included in the book.

In spite of the preceding comments, this is still a valuable piece of work. The author's intensive research has enabled him to present many facts and figures that will be of value to scholars for years to come. The chapter on agriculture contains a thorough review of farming between 1820-1860, supported by several helpful and informative tables and charts. Interesting details concerning manufacturing and internal improvements are brought out in the chapters on those two subjects. Of especial value in the preceding chapters is Mr. Smith's analysis of local efforts throughout South Carolina in behalf of developing improved farming practices, promoting industry, and encouraging internal improvements. The final chapter deals with banking, and here it is shown that the conservatism of the banking interests prevented banks from really aiding the economic growth of the state.

One aspect of the economic scene in South Carolina was not dealt with in this book—slavery. As that institution was the basis of the state's labor economy, the changes taking place within it are an important subject. Perhaps, however, Mr. Smith plans to deal with slavery in a subsequent study.

S. Sidney Bradford

Fort McHenry
National Park Service

Jonathan Trumbull, Connecticut's Merchant Magistrate, 1710-1785. By Glenn Weaver. Hartford: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1956. 182 pp. $4.

Scholars of the present generation are just beginning to test by case studies of particular mercantile houses some of the generalizations applied to larger areas by two path-breaking works of the 1930's. Recently Philip L. White's monograph on the *Beekmans of New York* unsuccessfully contested the conclusion reached by Virginia D. Harrington in her *New York Merchants on the Eve of the Revolution* that the typical merchant of the period was not a specialist but performed diversified economic functions. The present study by Mr. Weaver exemplifies rather than challenges many of the findings of Margaret E. Martin in her excellent treatment of *Merchants and Trade of the Connecticut River Valley, 1750-1820.* Like the Browns of Providence Plantations and the as yet undescribed Ridgelys of Maryland, Jonathan Trumbull well fits the pattern of diversification. He had a farm, flour mill, malt house, fulling mill, and brewery as well as vessel shares and mercantile interests. Indeed, during

most of the first two decades of his business life he was as much a cattle dealer and meat packer as he was a merchant.

Each year, usually in the fall, Trumbull ventured forth from the small inland town of Lebanon, where he had his store and warehouse, in order to buy cattle in neighboring towns. After pasturing them until a large enough herd (30 to 40) was on hand, he hired men to drive them the ninety miles to Boston. In the later 1730's and throughout the 1740's, Trumbull placed increasing emphasis on the carting of barreled beef and pork fifteen miles to Norwich, a focal point for water shipments to Rhode Island and Massachusetts. Norwich, in turn, supplied his store with salt, sugar, and other bulky goods, especially from the West Indies. Boston was the main source of his English merchandise. The leading merchant of Lebanon, and by mid-century one of Connecticut's largest provisions dealers, Trumbull thus served as an important link in a chain of distribution by which country produce reached coastal ports for export, and European and West Indian goods reached final consumers, either via direct retail sales in his store or via wholesale distribution to smaller crossroads shopkeepers and chapmen. His dependence upon Boston for vitally important English goods illustrates the larger dependence of Connecticut upon that port. In 1749, and once again in the early 1760's, Trumbull became a member of relatively brief-lived partnerships organized for the purpose of importing direct from England. Short-term credits made possible the receipt of several cargoes, for which remittances of whale oil from Nantucket formed the main means of payment. Some payments were not made, however, for in 1767 Trumbull went bankrupt.

In explaining Trumbull's failure Mr. Weaver cites an array of contributing causes: a disadvantageous inland location, failure to spread risks more broadly, poor choice of partners, ignoring of agents' advice, poor judgment, and preoccupation with public duties. Like John Hancock, who also failed as a businessman, Trumbull cuts a larger figure in the literature of patriotism than in the annals of mercantile success. Upon the outbreak of the Revolution Trumbull, after many years of public service to Connecticut, was the only colonial governor to step to the patriot side. The cause upon which main emphasis is placed is simple: Trumbull "extended more credit to retail customers and rural shopkeepers than his business could stand" (p. 151). This is persuasive: bad debts have damaged or broken many a businessman. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Weaver involves his adequate explanation with the operation of external "forces" of a monetary nature. His uncertain discussion of these forces (see pp. 16-21, p. 62, and pp. 151-153) mars this diligent enquiry into difficult accounting sources, as well as into little-known works in local history. The amount and origin of the cash received by Trumbull in his retail business, not only immediately but in later payment of credit transactions, remains uncertain, as does the extent to which it was required for his purchases in Boston. Other inadequacies are: Mr. Weaver's failure to resolve contradictions (e. g. the same source is cited for statements on pp. 111-112 that Irish merchants were not interested in flaxseed and that the Irish market for flaxseed promised to be particularly good),

editorial lapses (on p. 114 "Mr. Pitkin" appears when it is "Mr. Fitch" that is meant), and an occasional display of naïvete that is disconcerting (p. 115, for example, confuses assets with means of foreign payment). Despite these weaknesses, the book makes a useful contribution, particularly to our understanding of the nature of the inland links in the chain of distribution.

STUART BRUCHEY

Northwestern University

Verdict for the Doctor: The Case of Benjamin Rush. By WINTHROP and FRANCES NEILSON. New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1958. ix, 245 pp. $4.50.

This, the thirteenth published work of Mr. and Mrs. Neilson, is a story of the quarrel between two remarkable historical figures, William Cobbett and Benjamin Rush. Cobbett, temporarily unwelcome in his native England, served briefly in Philadelphia during the turbulent closing years of the eighteenth century as a vehement publicist of conservative Federalism. A favorite target for his angry pen was Dr. Benjamin Rush, ostensibly for the famous Doctor's belief in the efficacy of bleeding as a cure for the victims of Philadelphia's severe yellow fever epidemics, but fundamentally because of the Jeffersonian caste of Rush's strong-willed mind. Rush at length replied with a libel suit which proved successful to the amount of $5,000. Cobbett returned to England shortly thereafter.

Verdict for the Doctor is a good story, lightly spun between the personalities of two fascinating men, but as a work of history it is undistinguished. The papers of Benjamin Rush are unusually rich and accessible, yet the Neilsons list only published sources in their sparse bibliography. Their imaginative embellishments are a poor substitute for detail which careful research might have yielded.

Nearly a fourth of the book is devoted to a lurid, but largely extraneous narrative of the yellow fever epidemic of 1793—which incidentally is much more skillfully described in J. H. Powell's excellent *Bring Out Your Dead*—while episodes of the libel trial, the focus of the story, are neglected. The illuminating quarrel between Cobbett and his attorney, Robert Goodloe Harper, is virtually ignored.

Finally, Mr. and Mrs. Neilson have failed to point out the significance of their tale. If it possesses one, the reader remains ignorant of it.

DAVID HACKETT FISCHER

The Johns Hopkins University

Cities and Camps of the Confederate States. By FITZGERALD ROSS. Edited with an introduction by RICHARD BARKSDALE HARWELL. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1958. xxii, 262 pp. $4.50.

Outstanding books by present day authors on America's great war—the Civil War—are coming off the presses almost daily. At the same time, because of the public's increasing interest in this period, more and more new editions of older Civil War classics, written by participants or observers, are being made available to readers. Among the latter group is Fitzgerald Ross's *Cities and Camps of the Confederate States.* Originally published in 1865 it was expanded into book form from a series of articles published in England in 1864 and 1865. Englishman Ross, a Captain in the Austrian Hussars, was a rather colorful figure who toured in the Confederate States as an observer from May 1863 to April 1864. Although Ross was a rabid supporter of the Southern cause, its institutions, and way of life (he did not see how the South could lose), thus not always able to present a truly unbiased picture of what was actually taking place, his accounts from the Confederate viewpoint are most interesting and valuable contributions to the study and understanding of this aspect of Civil War history. During his travels, Ross visited such important Southern cities as Richmond, Wilmington, Charleston, Augusta, Savannah, and Mobile, where he had an opportunity to see life behind the lines. While in the field, where he spent much time, Ross learned to know the men in the ranks as well as some of the leading Confederate officers. He also had first hand experiences at the Battles of Gettysburg and Chickamauga and the bombardments of Charleston.

Ross's accounts are not mere detailed descriptions of military campaigns or military leaders but rather observations about the people, institutions, and life in the South from both the viewpoint of the soldier and the civilian. Marylanders will find Ross's writings of special interest because he entered the Confederacy from here, and some of his reports were from the Hagerstown region when Lee's Army was making its invasion of and retreat from Pennsylvania. *Cities and Camps of the Confederate States,* in many respects, is a continuation or sequel to Colonel Fremantle's *Three Months in the Southern States,* April-June 1863, which was reprinted in 1954. These two books by Englishmen should be considered as companion volumes.

Richard B. Harwell has done a splendid job in editing the new edition with the addition of a few illustrations, but more significant, Mr. Harwell is to be highly commended for his purpose " to elucidate Ross's narrative with parallel comments of his contemporaries on the same events." The placing of these footnotes where they belong, at the bottom of the page, has not harmed Ross's work nor will it lessen a reader's interest in the main story. Only one failure in edition is to be noticed—the original book contained a map of the Southern States with Ross's route outlined on it, but the present edition omitted this helpful guide. However, this is a minor point when students of Civil War history will find this new edition

of Ross's travels valuable for instruction and the layman will find it most enjoyable for just interesting reading.

WILLIAM H. WROTEN, JR.

State Teachers College,
Salisbury, Md.

Fort Delaware. By W. EMERSON WILSON. Institute of Delaware History and Culture Pamphlet Series, Number 4. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1957. 32 pp.

This small but interestingly written pamphlet tells the story of the old fort in the Delaware River which the State of Delaware is restoring as an historical park. Its author, a Wilmington newspaperman, deals primarily with the fort during the Civil War when many Maryland political prisoners were confined there, and a Marylander, Colonel Robert C. Buchanan, U. S. A., for a time commanded the post. Many readers will be surprised to learn that conditions at Fort Delaware were even worse than the foul conditions at notorious Andersonville prison. Wilson also includes several pages which tell the early history of the fortifications on Pea Patch Island and several more which bring the story up to date. This is obviously not the definitive history of the fort, but the author concludes with the plea that persons who have materials of interest to it should communicate with the Fort Delaware Historical Society which was founded for that purpose.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Hall of Records
Annapolis

NOTES AND QUERIES

PARKER GENEALOGICAL PRIZE

The sum of $85 will be awarded in prizes for well prepared genealogies of Maryland families, submitted for the Dudrea and Sumner Parker Annual Award. Preference will be given those papers that present a connected and orderly account of one or more families identified closely with Maryland. Entrants may be either members or non-members of the Society. Papers presented in this contest should be received by the Society on or before December 31, 1958. This award was established in 1947, in memory of the late Sumner A. Parker by Mrs. Parker, who has herself taken a keen interest in Maryland genealogy and wishes to see the Society's collection of genealogies extended as far as possible. First prize will be $50, second prize $25 and third prize $10.

All papers entered will become the property of the Society. Entries should be addressed: Parker Genealogical Contest, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument St.

The Library of Congress is preparing to publish a catalog of the work of Charles Fenderich, 19th century lithographer, who is best known for his portraits of prominent people done between 1837 and 1849. Fenderich, or Carl Fendrich, was born in Switzerland in 1805. After working in Switzerland and Paris, he came to the United States about 1831 and settled presumably in Philadelphia. He lithographed views of Philadelphia, Washington, Annapolis; Mexican War scenes, genre subjects and music covers. They were printed, among others, by Edward Weber & Co. of Baltimore. He went to California in 1849 and died there in 1887. The Library of Congress has some of his original drawings and watercolors.

The Library would appreciate information regarding any prints or drawings by Fenderich, as well as biographical information.

(Miss) Alice Lee Parker, Asst. Chief,
Reference Department,
Prints and Photographs Division,
The Library of Congress,
Washington 25, D. C.

Manuscripts historian Fred Shelley has been appointed Head of the newly established Presidential Papers Section in the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. This section has been established to prepare for microfilming and to index the Library's 23 collections of Presidential papers. Congress recently appropriated $100,000 for the initiation of this project.

A native of Kansas, Mr. Shelley received his academic training at Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, where he received the A. B. and B. S. Degrees in 1940 and the M. S. degree in 1941, and he has completed 4 years of graduate study at the American University. Mr. Shelley's wide experience in archival and library techniques and in editorial work was gained as a member of the staff of the Recent Manuscripts Section in the Manuscript Division from 1946 to 1950, as Librarian of the Maryland Historical Society for the following 5 years, as Librarian of the New Jersey Historical Society from 1955 to 1958, and, since June 1958, as Head of the Reader Service Section in LC's Manuscript Division. He edited the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for 4 years (1951-55), and he compiled *A Guide to the Manuscripts Collection of the New Jersey Historical Society*, published in 1957.

Chief Historian for the Department of the Army, Dr. Kent R. Greenfield, was honored at a farewell reception Friday, Sept. 26, 1958, at the Naval Gun Factory Officers' Club before he retired on the 11th of October.

A native of Chestertown, Maryland, and ex-chairman of the history department of Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Greenfield has served the Army for 12 years. As a dean of military historians, the scholar will leave an immense research and writing project—the history of the Army in World War II—well on its way towards completion.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture has announced the establishment of the second annual Institute Manuscript Award which will be presented in May, 1959. Five hundred dollars will be paid to the author of the best unpublished work in early American history and the winning entry will be published by the Institute. Manuscripts by mature scholars are invited. A doctoral dissertation will not be eligible unless it has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph. D. degree and is accompanied by a recommendation from the thesis director. Judges for the 1959 competition are Dumas Malone, University of Virginia (on leave from Columbia University 1958-59); Louis B. Wright, Folger Shakespeare Library; and Max Savelle, University of Washington, who will serve as chairman of the committee. Manuscripts should be addressed to James M. Smith, Editor of Publications, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The 1958 Institute Manuscript Award was presented to Lawrence H. Leder, assistant director of research and publications at Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Tarrytown, New York, for his biographical study of Robert Livingston (1654-1728).

Arizona and the West, a new quarterly journal of history, will be published in the spring of 1959 by the University of Arizona.

Subsequent numbers of the quarterly will appear in the summer, fall, and winter. *Arizona and the West* is planned to be traditional in format, printed on fine stock, and occasionally illustrated. It will be suitable for binding in sets of four to make a volume. Each number will carry approximately 100 pages.

Editor of the new quarterly will be John Alexander Carroll, Ph. D., associate professor of history at the university, and winner of the 1958 Pulitzer Prize for biography.

Arizona and the West will be devoted specifically to the history of Arizona from earliest times to the recent past. As a secondary feature, material of general significance in the history of the West will be included.

Lewis—Who were the parents of *Delilah Lewis* who married Leonard Reel, or Reid, in Frederick Co., Md. in Dec. 1809. Marriage Record is recorded in Frederick County.

(Miss) Alta Chrisman,
4741 Valley Rd., Lincoln 10, Nebr.

Carr-Soper-Childs—Will appreciate information concerning the parentage and dates of birth and death of Drucilla Soper who was the wife of Benjamin Carr of "Carr's Hills," Anne Arundel County, Maryland. Benjamin's will was probated in 1796. Also parentage and dates for Susanna Childs who was married to Robert Carr, the son of Benjamin, in 1789.

Margaret J. S. Carr,
5713 Belair Road, Baltimore 6, Md.

Selby—Information wanted about Mary Selby of Anne Arundel County, Md., and her parents. Mary Selby was born in Anne Arundel Co. When? Died when? Died where? She was married August 1, 1715 in Saint Anne's Parish, Maryland to Charles Howard. Mary Selby, widow of Charles Howard, married Otho Holland December 9, 1718. Want also names and dates of birth, marriage and death of her parents.

Mrs. Howard Crane,
1101 N. Mallard St., Palestine, Texas

Taylor—Information would be appreciated concerning the parents of David Taylor who is buried at " Taylor's Venture " near Principio Furnace in Cecil County. Also his dates of birth and death. Was he the son of William and Agness Taylor? William was the son of John of South Susquehanna Hundred and a brother of Capt. Thomas Taylor who is also buried there with his wife, Ann, and some of their ten children. David had a maiden sister, Betsy, and sons, William and George, and daughters, Mary and Eliza.

MORTON F. TAYLOR,
Perryville, Md.

Belt—Information would be appreciated concerning the maiden name of the wife of Edward Belt, b. 1749 Prince George's Co., Md., married about 1780 in or near Baltimore. Left two children, Richard Watkins and Elizabeth who were brought up by their maternal uncle, Richard.

GEORGE H. HOLMES,
Clarksburg, Calif.

Fenwick—I am gathering material for a biography of Benedict Joseph Fenwick (1782-1846) who was Roman Catholic Bishop of Boston from 1825 until his death. Bishop Fenwick was a son of George and Margaret (Medley) Fenwick and was born on his father's plantation in St. Mary's County. George Fenwick was a surveyor and in 1791 the family moved to Georgetown, although continuing to operate their two farms through managers, when he was employed to survey the District of Columbia. The Fenwicks remained in Georgetown thereafter. George Fenwick died in 1811 and his wife in 1829. Besides Bishop Fenwick, they had three sons, Rev. Enoch Fenwick, S. J., long Rector of Baltimore Cathedral, Rev. George Fenwick, S. J., a professor at Holy Cross and Georgetown Colleges, and Francis Fenwick, who married and lived at different times in Georgetown and Frederick. I am hoping to locate letters to or from members of this family or diaries or other documents that refer to one or another of them. I should greatly appreciate any help in locating or copying these papers, as well as biographical or genealogical details on this branch of the Fenwick family.

RICHARD K. MACMASTERS, S. J.,
Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, New York

CONTRIBUTORS

FRANK F. WHITE, JR. is a member of the Maryland Historical Society and worked in the manuscript division for some time. At present he is employed as an archivist at the Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis.

JOSEPH T. DURKIN, S. J., is a prominent author on Civil War subjects and Professor of United States History at the University of Georgetown. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Civil War Centennial Commission. He has edited *John Dooley, Confederate Soldier*, 1945, and written the biography, *Stephen R. Mallory, Confederate Navy Chief*, 1952. His biography, *General Sherman's Son*, will appear in the spring of 1959.

KENNETH L. CARROLL is a native of Easton, Maryland, and Associate Professor of Religion at Southern Methodist University. His studies on Quakerism have appeared in several important historical journals such as the *Delaware Magazine of History* and the *North Carolina Historical Review*.

CALEB DORSEY is a member of the Maryland Historical Society and is a student of Maryland genealogy and history. He has contributed several articles to the *Magazine*.

WILLIAM VOSS ELDER, III, a member of the Maryland Historical Society, is a native of Baltimore County. He is a graduate of Princeton University, class of 1954, and is a student of early American architecture.

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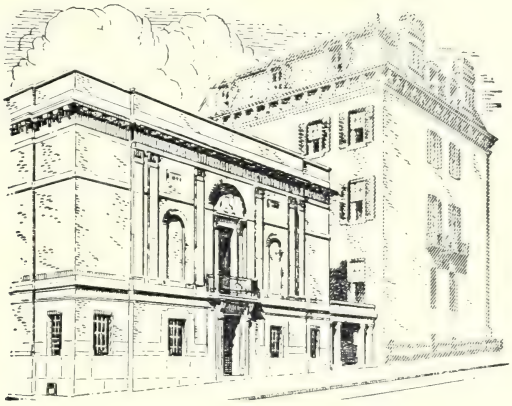

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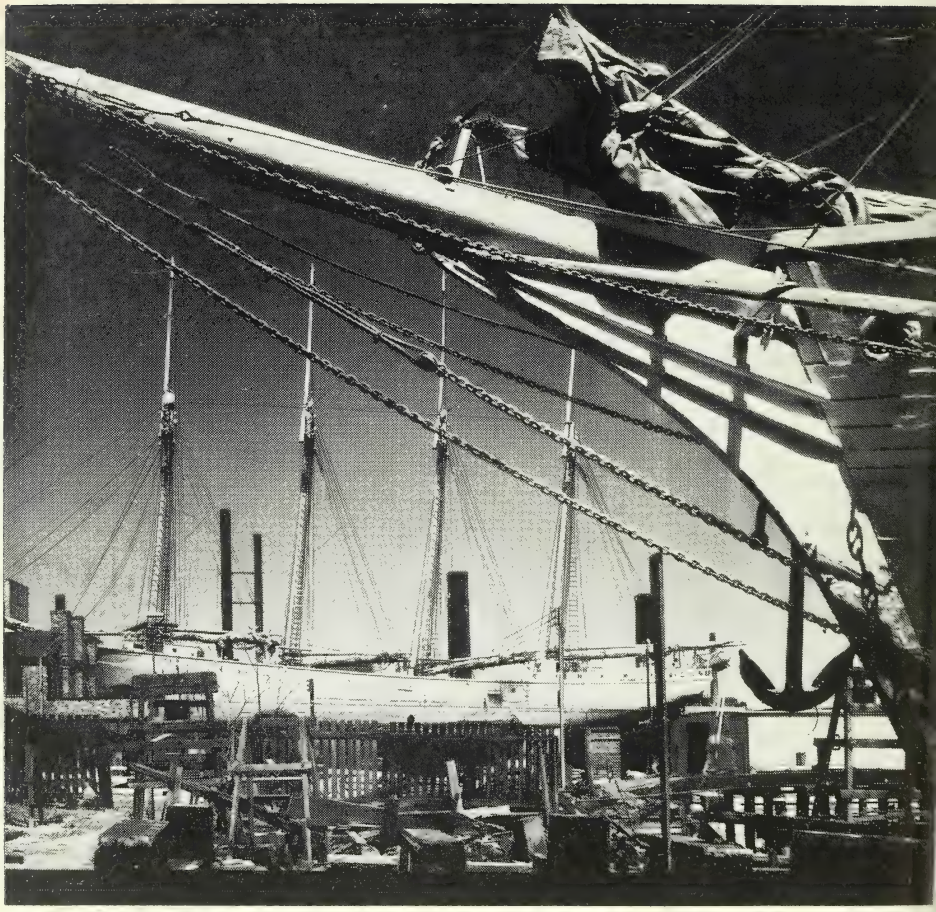

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